Numismatic notes & monographs.

New York: American Numismatic Society, 1920-

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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 147

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OF CILICIAN ARMENIA

By PAUL Z. BEDOUKIAN



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

NEW YORK

1962

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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

Number 147



NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

is devoted to essays and treatises on subjects relating to coins, paper money, medals and decorations.

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Coinage of Cilician Armenia

By PAUL Z. BEDOUKIAN



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

NEW YORK

1962



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD	VII
BIBLIOGRAPHY AND KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS	хi
SURVEY OF PUBLICATIONS ON ROUPENIAN COINS	xxii
MAP	2
HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION	
THE COMING OF THE ARMENIANS TO CILICIA	3
THE BARONIAL PERIOD OF CILICIAN ARMENIA	5
THE ARMENIAN KINGDOM OF CILICIA	9
TRADE AND COMMERCE OF CILICIAN ARMENIA	25
ARMENIAN TERMS USED FOR VARIOUS COINS	43
THE COINAGE OF THE ROUPENIANS	50
DESIGN AND STYLE OF COINS	56
INSCRIPTIONS ON ROUPENIAN COINS	65
COINS FROM THE PERIOD OF PRINCES	67
THE GOLD COINS	68
COINS ISSUED BY THE KINGS	76
LEVON I	76
HETOUM I	82
LEVON II	86
HETOUM II	89
SMPAD	90
GOSDANTIN I	91
LEVON III	91
OSHIN	92
LEVON IV	94
GUY LUSIGNAN (GOSDANTIN II)	95
GOSDANTIN III	95
LEVON THE USURPER	97
GOSDANTIN IV	98
LEVON V LUSIGNAN	99
FORGERIES	IOI
SURVEY OF COLLECTIONS OF ROUPENIAN COINS	103



METROLOGY	108
SOME STATISTICS	113
THE CORPUS	127
ARRANGEMENT OF THE CORPUS	128
PRINCES	129
PRINCE LEVON II	129
GOLD COINS	130
LEVON I	130
HETOUM I (HETOUM-ZABEL)	227
LEVON II	290
HETOUM II	314
SMPAD	325
GOSDANTIN I	334
LEVON III	336
OSHIN	353
LEVON IV	368
GUY LUSIGNAN (GOSDANTIN II)	380
GOSDANTIN III	382
LEVON THE USURPER	395
GOSDANTIN IV	399
LEVON V LUSIGNAN	•
POST ROUPENIAN	410
INDEX OF LEGENDS	411
GENERAL INDEX	490



FOREWORD

The establishment of an Armenian dynasty in Cilicia (1080–1375) led to one of the most interesting periods in the long history of the Armenian people. The wealth of material from the Cilician kingdom and the historical data available from Armenian and European sources encouraged the writer to attempt this work on the coinage of Cilician Armenia.

The early numismatic studies of Brosset and Langlois are primarily of historical interest since they contain a large number of errors. Sibilian's book, written in 1877, is fairly accurate, with the exception of the section on the latter period of the kingdom; but it is limited in scope, and being written in Armenian, is not comprehensible to most numismatists. Since there is no adequate publication in a Western language on the coinage of Cilician Armenia, the writer hopes that the present work will serve a useful purpose.

In the past, published material consisted for the most part of drawings of coins. Brosset's work contains 17 drawings, Langlois', 70, Sibilian's, about 130, and Basmadjian's, about 50, all of the latter being taken from Morgan's book on the History of the Armenian People. The drawings are generally badly made and the inscriptions are often not copied accurately. The present volume contains the photographs of some 510 Roupenian coins, few of which have previously appeared in print.

In order to have the corpus as complete and accurate as possible, it was necessary to examine first hand all the coins in the important collections whenever this was feasible. Fortunately, most of the coins are gathered in a limited number of collections. This mission took the author to Europe in 1958, and some 4000 rubbings were obtained of coins in several collections within a period of three weeks. The following method of obtaining clear rubbings was found to be most practicable. Hard rubber sheets were attached to the upper and lower jaws of a blank corporation seal, which was used as a hand press. By folding aluminum foil and placing the coin in the



fold, it was possible to obtain over one hundred impressions per hour. The impressions were very clear, photographed satisfactorily, withstood repeated careful handling, and could be filed like stamps in albums or kept in envelopes for reference purposes.

Most vital to the task of assembling the corpus was the acquisition of rubbings of the collection of the Mekhitarists in Vienna. This collection, consisting of nearly 2400 pieces, is by far the largest and most valuable in the world. Gathered for the most part by Father Sibilian about a hundred years ago, it includes many rarities and some unique specimens. The author is particularly grateful to his Grace, Archbishop Mesrob Habozian, the chief Abbot of the Mekhitarist order in Vienna, for his generosity and assistance in making available the entire collection so that rubbings could be made of the 2400 coins. Without the inclusion of this important collection, this work would have suffered greatly. The same encouraging cooperation was given by the Mekhitarist order in Venice, where the chief Abbot, Archbishop Oulouhojian, readily granted the writer permission to make rubbings of their collection of nearly 600 pieces, among them some unique coins. The writer is particularly grateful to Father Nerses Nersessian for his active assistance in the preparation of the rubbings.

Special thanks are also due to M. Jean Babelon and M. Georges Le Rider for their cooperation in getting aluminum impressions made of the collection of Roupenian coins in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Dr. John Walker and Mr. G. K. Jenkins of the British Museum graciously permitted me on very short notice to examine their interesting collection of coins of this period and to obtain rubbings.

The writer was most fortunate in securing rubbings of three important collections in France: that of Mme. N. Kapamadji of the Maison Florange in Paris, of M. Kamer Baghdadlian of the Galeries Kamer in Cannes, and of M. Albert Achdjian of Galeries Chirvan in Paris.

The collections of Armenian coins in the Near East seemed to be beyond reach. But here again, willing hands undertook the arduous task of preparing rubbings. Mr. Garabed Sanjian of Beirut, Lebanon, provided rubbings of the large and valuable collection of the Mardikian Museum of the Armenian National Cultural Society in Beirut. Another important collection, that of Prof. Asbed Donabedian of Beirut, was made available by the owner, who personally made the



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Foreword ix

rubbings of his entire collection. The well-known coin dealer, M. Armenak Poladian, of Beirut, sent paper rubbings of the hoards of Levon and Hetoum-Zabel. Examination of the latter, in conjunction with a hoard in the ANS collection, made it possible to establish a chronological order of classification of the Hetoum-Zabel trams. Prof. A. A. Ebeyan of Beirut submitted rubbings of the coins in his collection for inclusion in the corpus. Father Berard Marthaler kindly made arrangements with Miss Nakriman Olcay, curator of non-Islamic coins at the Istanbul Archeological Museum, to have impressions prepared of the Armenian coins in the collection of that museum.

The corpus includes the Roupenian coins in the Asiatic and the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad. Special thanks are given to Prof. A. A. Bykov and Prof. E. Dobrovoleskii for sending me rubbings of the two collections. The existence of a unique copper coin of Gosdantin III struck in Tarsus establishes the fact that both silver and copper coins were struck in this mint. This coin is in the Hermitage Museum. Prof. K. Ghafadarian and Mr. Kh. Moushegian of the Numismatic Division of the State Museum in Soviet Armenia supplied rubbings of the trams and double trams of Levon I and of the trams of Hetoum-Zabel, numbering over one hundred pieces.

On this side of the Atlantic, the writer is indebted to the late Kegham Kalajian¹ of New York for his ready willingness to permit rubbings to be made of his entire collection, and to Mr. H. Kurdian of Wichita, Kansas, who prepared and sent rubbings of his coins. The corpus also includes the collection of Roupenian coins of the American Numismatic Society, as well as the writer's own collection.

It is estimated that the Roupenian coins in public and private collections number less than 12,000. On this basis, the present corpus, listing over 10,000 coins, covers over eighty per cent of the coins above ground.

The arrangement of the corpus presented many problems. None of the Roupenian coins carries the date of issue, and it was therefore necessary to adopt an artificial method of classification. After much experimentation, a uniform system of classification was chosen, applicable to all of the coins of this period. The method consisted ¹ The major part of this collection is now in the State Historical Museum of Erivan, Soviet Armenia.



essentially of listing each type of coin issued by a ruler and arranging its variants in the order of completeness of the legend on the obverse. Each obverse legend was accompanied by varieties of the legend on the reverse. It is hoped that this simple classification will enable the reader to locate any coin speedily and without much difficulty.

During the course of writing this book, it was frequently necessary to seek the advice of various members of the staff of the American Numismatic Society, and the author wishes to take this opportunity of expressing his special appreciation to Dr. George C. Miles for reading the first draft of the text and for his many very helpful suggestions. In addition, all the Arabic inscriptions on the bilingual coins of Hetoum were studied and classified by Dr. Miles. Sincere thanks are also due to Mr. Sawyer McA. Mosser for his assistance during the preparation of the text and corpus. On numerous occasions, the author had to call on Mr. Henry Grunthal and Mr. William L. Clark for advice, and the library work was greatly facilitated by the whole-hearted cooperation of Mr. G. H. North and Mr. Richard P. Breaden.

To Prof. Sirarpie Der Nersessian the writer wishes to express his thanks for her careful reading of the manuscript and for the many corrections and valuable suggestions which she made.

Finally, the author would like to express his gratitude to Mr. R. W. Johnson, the photographer of the ANS, for obtaining such clear photographs from the aluminum impressions, and of course to J. J. Augustin for coping with this manuscript, with its numerous unusual field marks and legends.



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- WM—Collection of the Mekhitarian Museum in Vienna, Austria.



SURVEY OF EARLIER PUBLICATIONS ON ROUPENIAN COINS

The first mention of a Roupenian coin was apparently made in 1644 by Tristan¹ who included a drawing of a bilingual coin of Hetoum-Kaikhusrew in his extensive work on numismatics. Tristan was able to translate (although incorrectly) the Arabic inscription on the coin but could not decipher the Armenian side, although he knew the characters were Armenian. The drawing of this coin was done so poorly that it is impossible to read the Armenian inscription. Some twenty-four years later, Du Cange² referred to Tristan's bilingual coin, but ascribed it to a Persian monarch. The coin was again briefly mentioned about twenty-five years later by Cuperi³ who more or less summarized the statements made by Tristan and Du Cange. It was not until 1739, nearly a hundred years after Tristan's publication, that La Croze⁴ attempted to decipher the Armenian inscription. Although La Croze incorrectly read it as "Thagavor Thagavoratz Haiotz" (The King of Kings of the Armenians), he apparently had the assistance of some one with a good knowledge of Armenian because the incorrect version is grammatically accurate, and his faulty interpretation may have been due to the poor condition of the coin. Finally, in 1782, Adler⁵ reproduced another bilingual coin of Hetoum-Kaikhusrew, and succeeded in reading the inscription correctly.

The first Roupenian coins bearing entirely Armenian inscriptions were apparently first described in a catalog of the St. Petersburg (Leningrad) Museum in 1745.⁶ The description there is as follows:

- ¹ Tristan, pp. 588–9.
- ² Du Cange, p. 238.
- ³ Cuperi, p. 480.
- 4 La Croze, pp. 339-344.
- ⁵ Adler, pp. 61–2, Pl. XII, No. C.
- ⁶ Musei Imperialis Petropolitani. Vol. II (1745) p. 452. The author is deeply grateful to Prof. A. Bykov of the Hermitage Museum for locating this reference after a search in various libraries of Leningrad. Only after receiving Prof. Bykov's report was it possible to determine that this was

xxii



Survey of Earlier Publications on Roupenian Coins xxiii

1. Rex adversa fronte, coronatus, sedens, dextra crucem, sinistra sceptrum, seu simile quid tenens.

LEON CZAAR HAIWEZ (i. e. Armeniae). A. Insignia regni: EX. MISERICORDIA DEI

- 2. Similis, crassus susus.
- 3. Duae figurae coronates flantes crucem tenent.

 HEETOM CZAAR HAIWEZ. A. Leo gradiens, supra quem crux.

 EX. MISERICORDIA DEI Nimmus susus.

Although the inscriptions were read incorrectly, the descriptions are clearly of the two trams of Levon I and the one of Hetoum-Zabel.

A good reproduction of a copper coin of Levon I appeared in Pembroke and Montgomery's treatise⁷ published in 1746, but the authors unfortunately listed it erroneously as a Runic coin. In 1762, Pellerin⁸ reported the existence of six copper coins of Levon I with Armenian legends, but could not read the inscription. Shortly thereafter, before the publication of the second volume of his work in 1770⁹ he noted an engraving of a similar coin in a publication which described the collection of the Marquis de Savorgnan. It is presumed that this catalog was published sometime between 1762 and 1770, as Pellerin did not see it in time to make use of the information in his first volume. By 1770, the Mekhitarian Fathers in Venice had published a number of Armenian books, thus introducing the language to Western readers, and Pellerin was then able to read, though not

most likely the first report in print of Roupenian coins, with the exception of the bilingual coin of Hetoum I. In his monograph on Roupenian coins, Brosset lists the following references:

Museum imp. Petrop. 1745, II, Pl. III, p. 452;

Corsini, Dissertation de Minnisari aliorumque Armeniae regum nummis., Liburni, 1754, 1756;

Froelich, Dubia de Minnisari aliorumque Armeniae regum nummis. Vienna, 1754; Alter, Miscellen, p. 138; Mionnet IV, pp. 451-458. Brosset adds that the last author deals with ancient Armenian coins with Greek legends and not with coins of the Roupenian period. His remarks would lead one to believe that the others dealt with Roupenian coins. Froelich's book is concerned only with some pre-Christian period coins and not Roupenian coins. It is regrettable that it was impossible to check either Corsini or Alter, but a remark by Langlois (p. 1) would lead one to believe that only the first dealt with Roupenian coins.

- Pembroke and Montgomery, IV, Part 4, Pl. XL.
- ⁸ Pellerin, p. 218.
- Pellerin, pp. 112-147, Pl. I. Nos. 6, 7, 8.



xxiv Survey of Earlier Publications on Roupenian Coins

accurately, some of the variations of the inscriptions on the copper coins of Levon I.

In 1781–1786, Chamchian¹⁰ published his monumental History of Armenia in three volumes. This study, published in Armenian, was later translated into English.¹¹ In his work, Chamchian mentions that the Roupenians struck gold, silver and copper coins, and gives several illustrations.

In 1789, Sestini¹² wrote a treatise on the coinage of the Roupenians and briefly discussed the history of the dynasty. He listed thirteen coins of which two were Serbian and erroneously identified as Armenian. A year later, Sestini¹³ gave a description and engraving of a half-tram of Zabel-Hetoum and of a new copper coin of Levon I. It may be mentioned here that Sestini¹⁴ also reproduced an engraving of a coin which he ascribed to the Roupenian king, Toros. This is one of several instances in which a coin has been attributed to this king. Unfortunately, Sestini's pictorial representation was so poor that it is impossible to decipher the inscription. How did Sestini manage to obtain so much data on the history and coinage of the Roupenians? The answer is given by Father Indjidjian¹⁵ in a report appearing in 1827 in an Armenian publication. Apparently, in 1788, when Lord Ainsley saw Father Indjidjian in Constantinople (Istanbul), he showed him a large number of unidentified coins and "insisted on our identifying and classifying these coins. It became necessary to make a chronology of the Roupenian kings to give to Sestini, the numismatist, and also to make models of the old and new forms of Armenian letters which Sestini used in his Italian treatise." Sestini himself acknowledges¹⁶ the invaluable help given him in this phase of his work. It becomes obvious that Father Indjidjian was probably the first to possess some knowledge of the coinage of the Roupenian dynasty, and it is unfortunate that he made no attempt to publish his studies.

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10 Chamchian, History of Armenia, Vol. III, p. 365.
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¹¹ Chamich, History of Armenia.

¹² Sestini, 1789, II, pp. 22-55, Pl. I, II.

¹³ Sestini, 1790, IV, p. 84.

¹⁴ Sestini, 1779, III, p. 147.

¹⁵ Indjidjian, p. 239–40.

¹⁶ Sestini, 1790, p. 84, Lettere VIII.

Survey of Earlier Publications on Roupenian Coins xxv

Within the next fifty years, the coinage of the Roupenians received increasing attention. Buchon¹⁷ described the design of some Armenian coins in his discussion of the coins of Cyprus. Brosset, the noted armenologist, first discussed a number of Roupenian coins^{18a} which included an unpublished bilingual coin of Hetoum-Kaikobad^{18b} and an unpublished silver coin of Oshin;^{18c} and later, in 1839, published a monograph¹⁹ in which he listed about sixty coins in various Russian and French collections. This work did much to arouse interest in the coinage of the Roupenian period. At a later date, Brosset²⁰ reported on a silver coin of Gosdantin.

Apart from a passing remark on a coin of Levon I by Cappelletti²¹ in his History of Armenia, the next important contribution was made by Kraft²² in 1843. His work contains a good review of the previous publications on the subject, with appropriate comments on their contents and shortcomings. According to Marcar (45), this article has been published in book form. Kraft discusses at some length the coinage and history of the Roupenian kingdom and lists 50 coins, of which 29 belonged to the Royal Museum in Vienna, 23 to the collection of Father Timoni, and 7 to the Mekhitarian Museum in Vienna. The article was well illustrated and included a silver coin of Gosdantin I. Following Brosset's and Kraft's treatises, Roupenian coins began appearing in some catalogs. One published in 1845 listed seven silver and copper coins of Levon I and Hetoum I23 and another, published in 1878, listed a sizable collection of the coins of the various rulers—39 coins.24 Other contemporary catalogs25 also indicated the interest in this field.

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Buchon, pp. 403-405.
Brosset, Histoire du Bas-Empire, XVI, p. 26, 305; XVII, p. 43;
Ibid., XVII, pp. 324-325;
Ibid., XX, p. 510.
Brosset, Monographie des Monnaies Arméniennes.
Brosset, Rapports sur un Voyage Archéologique dans la Géorgie et dans l'Arménie, II, p. 14.
Cappelletti, pp. 178-181.
Kraft, pp. 1-29.
Von Wellenheim Catalogue, p. 570.
Fonrobert's collection, p. 294.
Kunz's Catalogue, 1855, p. 57; I have not seen the catalog of Prince Troubetzkoy's collection, and this reference is copied from Sibilian XII.
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xxvi Survey of Earlier Publications on Roupenian Coins

The earlier literature gave more prominence to the copper coins. Later on, possibly because of the discovery of various hoards of silver coins, the situation was reversed. In 1845, three silver coins of Zabel-Hetoum were reported by Borrell.²⁶ The following year, another silver Zabel-Hetoum was described by Lelewel,²⁷ along with a coin of Levon IV with an Arabic surcharge. In 1847, Saulcy²⁸ illustrated a coin of Levon V which he ascribed to Cyprus, and another Armenian coin with an illegible inscription.

After 1850, there was a period of intense activity in the field of Armenian numismatics. Outstanding contributions were made by Victor Langlois who also elucidated the relationship of the Roupenian kingdom with the western world, and by Father Sibilian whose researches and activities in the cause of Armenian numismatics far surpassed Langlois' work in scope and accuracy. Langlois, writing in French, familiarized Europeans with this branch of numismatics, and Sibilian, writing in Armenian, placed the coinage on a firm foundation. It is significant that Sibilian's work remained a classic for nearly a hundred years.

In his earlier papers, Langlois reported the complete reading of the bilingual coin of Hetoum-Kaikhusrew.²⁹ He later published a general review of the subject, listing all the known collections, both public and private. He also speculated on the origin of the designs of the coinage of the Roupenians.³⁰ In another article, Langlois discussed the two reports on coins attributed to Toros.³¹ In 1851, he reported a copper coin of Oshin³² and published three articles³³ summing up the existing knowledge on Roupenian coins. Two years later, he published an extensive article listing hitherto unknown or little known coins.³⁴ These studies by Langlois were brought together in book form in an important publication entitled *Numismatique de l'Ar*-

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26 Borrell, p. 451, Pl.
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²⁷ Lelewel, pp. 214, Pl. XI, No. 94, 95.

²⁸ Saulcy, Numismatique de Croisades, 1847, Pl. XIX, Nos. 5, 7.

²⁹ Langlois, Revue Archéologique, 1850, pp. 220-23.

³⁰ Langlois, ibid. pp. 262-271; 357-368; 416-426; Pl. 144, 147, 148.

³¹ Langlois, ibid. pp. 416-426.

³² Langlois, ibid. 1851, pp. 225-232.

³³ Langlois, ibid. 1851, pp. 262-274; 357-368; 416-426 and 3 plates.

³⁴ Langlois, ibid. 1853, pp. 467-475, Pl. 222, and 223.

Survey of Earlier Publications on Roupenian Coins xxvii

mėnie au Moyen Age. 35 It was a notable contribution, but as Sibilian pointed out some years later, it contained no less than sixty-nine glaring errors, and in the light of our present knowledge, this number can be multiplied many fold. In 1866, Langlois also reported on a hitherto unpublished double tram of Levon I. 36 This coin with the lion turned right had the complete inscription on both sides (Corpus No. 16).

During this same period, Sibilian wrote several important articles. Father Sibilian was a member of the Armenian Roman Catholic Mekhitarian order in Vienna, an order established in 1717 in St. Lazare, Venice, by Mekhitar of Sebastia. In 1811, some members of the order moved to Vienna. Both branches of the order have made extremely valuable contributions to Armenian culture. The Mekhitarists today have large collections of Armenian books and an impressive number of ancient Armenian manuscripts. Vienna possesses by far the largest collection of Roupenian coins, and the collection in Venice is also important. Scholars have long depended on these two establishments for their source of information on Armenian studies. Neither Sestini nor Langlois could have carried out their studies without the active assistance of the Mekhitarists.

Sibilian can be considered the father of Armenian numismatics. His writings were based on exhaustive studies and have proved remarkably accurate. On Sibilian's death Schlumberger³⁷ wrote, "le Père Cl. Sibilian, qui connaissait admirablement cette branche de l'archéologie arménienne et qui l'avait étudiée à la fois en patriote fervent, et en numismatiste distingué n'est plus."

Sibilian was born in Constantinople (Istanbul) on February 17, 1824, and joined the Mekhitarist order in Vienna in 1838. Encouraged by Chief Abbot Azarian, he took an active interest in Armenian coins and by 1846 had begun a treatise on the coinage of the Roupenians. So As he felt that there was insufficient material in Vienna for a satisfactory study, he journeyed to Armenia and neighboring countries in search of numismatic material. Thus, in addition to his religious duties, he spent much time in writing on numismatic and historical



Langlois, Numismatique de l'Arménie au Moyen Age, Paris, 1855.

Langlois, Revue de la Numismatique Belge, 1866, p. 474., Pl. XVIII.

³⁷ Schlumberger, Archives de l'Orient Latin, 1881, pp. 675-678.

³⁸ See F. Kalemkiarian's Preface to Sibilian's book, XVII.

xxviii Survey of Earlier Publications on Roupenian Coins

subjects. He died in 1878, at the age of 54, as a result of an illness contracted during his travels. He was unable to write the exhaustive treatise on Roupenian coins which he had planned, but did complete his "Classification of Roupenian Coins" written in Armenian in 1877 and published in 1892 with extensive notes by Father K. H. Kalemkiarian of the same order. It included a bibliography of early references on Armenian coins. Although limited in scope and inaccurate in its treatment of the latter period of the kingdom, this has served as a standard reference to this day.

In 1851 and 1852, Sibilian wrote a series of six papers on unpublished Roupenian coins.⁴⁰ These papers were incorporated in an extensive article which appeared in German in a Viennese publication.⁴¹ At a later date, Sibilian published additional information on his numismatic findings.⁴²

Other publications of this period include a note on a copper coin of Levon I,⁴³ on Hetoum-Zabel silver coins⁴⁴ previously discussed by Borrell,²⁶ and a general treatise on Roupenian coins⁴⁵ in an Armenian journal.

In 1875, another famous numismatist, Schlumberger, made a number of important contributions to our knowledge of Roupenian coins. He was the first to publish a coin of Levon I struck in Antioch in Latin characters. In the same article he first described a half double-tram of Levon I. Shortly thereafter, again for the first time, Schlumberger reported on a gold coin of Levon I. Schlumberger

- ³⁹ Sibilian's book is the only reference work on the coinage of Cilician Armenia, and it is unfortunate that it has never been translated into a Western language.
- ⁴⁰ Sibilian, *Europa*, Vienna, 1851. Nos. 46, 48, 1852, No. 2, 9, 11, 16. These articles, originally appearing in a newspaper, were added to Sibilian's book and thus made available to the general reader.
- ⁴¹ Sibiljan, p. 275, and reprinted in book form.
- 42 Sibilian, Revue de l'Orient, 1860, XII, p. 193-203.
- ⁴³ Marcar, Madras Journal of Literature and Science, 1851, p. 151. It is curious that the photograph of this copper coin as printed is a mirror image of the usual Levon I coins. This is probably due to an error in printing since no other reverse inscription and image coins have been reported.
- 44 Barthelemy, pp. 403, 446, Pl. XIII.
- 45 Hayastan, No. 33-85 (in Armenian).
- 46 Schlumberger, Revue Archéologique, 1875, pp. 345-349.
- ⁴⁷ Schlumberger, Archives de l'Orient Latin, 1881, pp. 675-678.



Survey of Earlier Publications on Roupenian Coins xxix

had an important collection of Roupenian coins, which eventually found its way to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

In 1865, Father Alishan of the Mekhitarist Order in Venice published his monumental treatise, "Sissouan," on Cilician Armenia. He devoted a full section to the coinage of the kingdom and discussed at some length the commercial relationship of the kingdom with the Mediterranean countries. Numismatically, the value of his work is important in that it was the first to contain a description of the copper coins of the princes Gosdantin, Toros and Levon II, and also of the gold coin of Gosdantin I. His work was translated into French in 1899.

Active interest in the coinage of the Roupenian dynasty seemed to wane after Alishan's work, and for the next fifty years there were no publications of importance. The discovery of several copper coins of Prince Levon II prompted several articles elucidating the inscription on them. ⁵⁰ In 1936, Basmadjian ⁵¹ published his general treatise on the numismatics of Armenia, in which he gave an account not only of the Roupenian coins but also of coins struck on the soil of Greater Armenia by earlier Armenian kings and by the Mohammedan invaders, beginning with the Arabs. He also gave descriptions of coins pertaining to Armenia, including Roman coins with the inscription "Armeniacus," "Armenia," etc., and of the coins of many Byzantine emperors of Armenian origin. This volume, however, added little new data to the numismatic knowledge of the Roupenian period.

In the past few years, there has been renewed activity in the field of Armenian numismatics and considerable progress has been made. Of particular interest are publications by Garabetian who, in his travels through Europe, catalogued a number of collections and wrote an account of the collection in the Mekhitarist Museum in



⁴⁶ Alishan, Sissouan (in Armenian), 1885.

⁴ Alishan, 1899.

Der Ghazarian, Two articles in Armenian publications listed in the Bibliography.

⁵¹ This book, written in Armenian, contains a section on Roupenian coins. Unfortunately, the author has taken little care in preparing this section and has not availed himself of the numismatic material to be found in various museums. All of the drawings are taken from Jacques de Morgan's book "History of the Armenian People."

xxx Survey of Earlier Publications on Roupenian Coins

Venice.⁵² Of special value is a description of the hoard of Daphne,⁵³ discovered near Antioch, which contained a large number of rare types of double-trams. Other interesting and informative articles by Garabetian include a lengthy treatise on some aspects of the design of Roupenian coins⁵⁴ and bibliographical surveys on publications dealing with the study of Armenian numismatics.⁵⁵

In describing a hoard found in 1874 in Cilicia, Sibilian pointed out the similarity in styling between the Levon coins (written lb4111) and those of Guy (1342-1344) and Gosdantin III (1344-1364). He suggested that it was most likely that these coins were all made by the same die-maker. Garabetian⁵² was apparently the first to attribute the Levon (lb4111) coins to Levon the Usurper who ruled from 1363 to 1365. It was only after the discovery of the Chronicle of Dardel in 1883 that the existence of the rule of Leo the Usurper became known. This information was therefore not available to Sibilian. Metrological data obtained by the writer in support of Garabetian's theory are given elsewhere in this book.

More recently, a number of studies have been published which have helped to clear up a few of the problems concerning the coinage of the Roupenians. It had hitherto been impossible to distinguish the coins of Gosdantin III and Gosdantin IV from each other. This has now been made possible through a critical examination of the weights and specific gravities of a large number of coins of these two rulers. Since the Roupenian coins bear no dates, it is not possible to classify the coins of each ruler chronologically according to their order of issue. However, by comparative studies and examination of two large

- ⁵² Garabetian, Pazmaveb, No. 7–9, 1952, pp. 155–168. Garabetian has prepared the catalogs of the collections in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Mekhitarist Museum in Vienna and Venice, and also the small collection of the Bibliothèque Arménienne Nubar in Paris. These catalogs, duplicates of which are in Garabetian's possession, are not available to the student, possibly pending publication.
- ⁵³ Garabetian, Hask, Annual Number, 1949–50, pp. 16–21. This valuable hoard, formerly the property of Mr. Armenak Poladian of Beirut, Lebanon, was donated to the State Museum in Erivan, Armenia.
- ⁵⁴ Garabetian, Hask, Annual Number, 1949-50, pp. 265-293.
- ⁵⁵ Garabetian, *Hask*, 1950, pp. 274–280; Garabetian, *Pazmavab*, 1951, pp. 317–324.
- ⁵⁶ Bedoukian, ANS Museum Notes, VI (1954), pp. 193-199, Pl. XX.



Survey of Earlier Publications on Roupenian Coins xxxi

hoards of Hetoum-Zabel trams, an order of issue was assigned to the different types of these coins.⁵⁷

Other publications include an historical study on the causes of the issuance of bilingual coins by Hetoum I,58 the identity of "bissantios stauratos" mentioned by contemporary writers with the trams of Levon I and Hetoum-Zabel,59 and an account of the coinage of Gosdantin I.60 Another publication61 established the authenticity of the gold coins of this period by pointing out the existence of authentic silver trams struck with the same dies as the gold coins. A more recent article discusses the origin of the design of the coins of Levon I.62

- ⁵⁷ Bedoukian, ANS Museum Notes, VIII (1958), pp. 145-180, Pl. XXXIX.
- 58 Bedoukian, ANS Museum Notes, VII (1957), pp. 219-230, Pl. XXX.
- 39 Bedoukian, Handes Amsorya, 1959, pp. 241-250 (In Armenian).
- Bedoukian, Handes Amsorya, 1958, pp. 381-390 (In Armenian).
- ⁶¹ Bedoukian, Handes Amsorya, 1960, pp. 16-27 (In Armenian).
- Bedoukian, Handes Amsorya, 1960, pp. 525-534 (In Armenian).



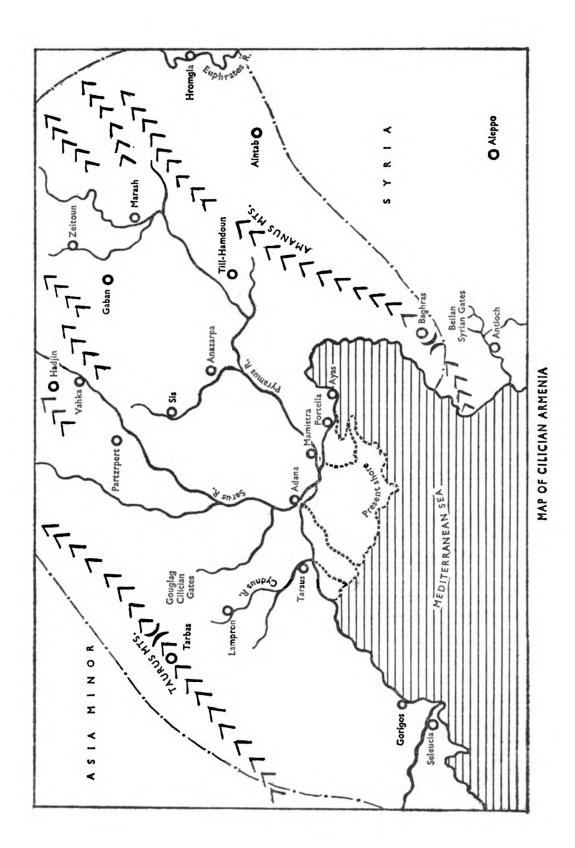
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COINAGE OF CILICIAN ARMENIA



COINAGE OF CILICIAN ARMENIA





HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

THE COMING OF THE ARMENIANS TO CILICIA

It is a curious fact that a territory which did not belong to Armenia until the early part of the eleventh century became the seat of an Armenian dynasty which was the first to issue a series of coins bearing Armenian characters. Previously, the rulers of Greater Armenia had struck coins patterned after early Greek coins, and ones bearing Greek legends. The historical events leading to the founding of the Roupenian dynasty in Cilicia are briefly reviewed here to give background to the coinage of this period.

Following the decline of the power of the Caliphate of Baghdad at the beginning of the ninth century, a number of independent or semi-dependent principalities were formed in Armenia. Of these, the Bagratids of Ani were the most powerful and founded a kingdom in 885 which lasted until 1045. Unfortunately, the existing feudal system in Armenia made it impossible for the rival principalities to combine and form a sufficiently powerful state capable of resisting the machinations of the Arab and Byzantine empires. The rulers of both empires saw to it that Armenia was kept in a constant turmoil through petty quarrels among the various kingdoms, of which there were six in the ninth century. Even the ruler of Ani, crowned "king of kings" and so acknowledged by the caliph and the emperor of Byzantium, exerted only a nominal influence beyond his feudal holdings.

Although there were a number of semi-independent principalities, large sections of Armenia were under Byzantine rule. The Byzantine emperors encouraged the Armenian nobility to settle in various parts of the empire, especially in Cappadocia and Cilicia, and numerous high diplomatic and military positions were given to Armenians. Gradually, Byzantium adopted a policy of subjugating the independent kingdoms of both Armenia and Georgia, a policy carried out at times through military or diplomatic measures, and often by offering to the nobility rich lands and high offices within the boundaries of the empire. An outstanding example of this trend was the

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transfer of the Armenian king, Senekerim of Vaspourakan, in the year 1021, to the district of Sebastia with a large portion of his subjects.

In the long run, the policy of shifting populations in order to erase nationalistic tendencies proved to be short-sighted and disastrous. With the coming of the Seljuk Turkish tribes from Central Asia, it proved to be a decisive factor in the downfall of the Byzantine empire. The native elements which had long protected the eastern lands of the empire were weakened and leaderless, so that there were no established forces left to check the advance of the Seljuks.

The Seljuks forced the Armenians to move from their ancestral homes, and in 1064, Gagik, the king of Kars, exchanged his kingdom for some lands in the Taurus mountains—the cities of Dsamentav, Laria, Amasia and Gomana, together with a hundred villages, and like Senekerim, moved with a large portion of his nobility and population.¹

By 1086, the Seljuks had conquered not only Armenia but a very large part of Asia Minor. Only in the mountainous districts of Greater Armenia were the people able to survive. In the mountains of Cilicia and in certain cities, the Armenians were left without the protection of Byzantine forces, and their historical antagonism towards the Greeks forced them into measures leading to independence. A Byzantine general of Armenian descent, Philaretus, already held large territories in northern Syria and eastern Cilicia, including Antioch.

Possibly Philaretus had ambitions of establishing an Armenian kingdom, and he encouraged Armenians to come and settle in his lands. The Danishmends had captured Sebastia and put an end to Senekerim's kingdom. Some of the noblemen who held lands as vassals of Senekerim apparently came to Cilicia and settled in the mountainous regions. Roupen, who claimed to be related to the Bagratid kings of Ani, held Partzrbert and the surrounding territory as an independent ruler. There were numerous other Armenian rulers in Cilicia, who professed loyalty to the Byzantine emperor and belonged to the Greek Orthodox rather than the Armenian National

¹ An excellent account of these events, including conditions before the coming of the Seljuks and the short-sighted policy of Byzantium, is given in the first part of Manantyan, Vol. III (in Armenian) and also in Grousset, Histoire de l'Arménie des Origines à 1071, pp. 341-635.



Church. Thus, at the beginning of the eleventh century Oshin held Lampron and the surrounding territory; Tatoul held Marash; Gabriel, Melitene, and Toros, Edessa. Kogh Vasil, who belonged to the Armenian National Church, held extensive lands around Gaban and Kesoun.

Apparently, the times were not propitious for Philaretus to form a kingdom, and the position of many of the above rulers was precarious in the face of the advancing Seljuk tide. Only one of the princes, Roupen, succeeded in maintaining his rule and began a dynasty which ruled over Cilicia for nearly three hundred years.

THE BARONIAL PERIOD OF CILICIAN ARMENIA

ROUPEN (1080–1095) profited from favorable circumstances and managed to consolidate his position. Taking advantage of the political situation when both the Byzantines and the Seljuks were busy with their own difficulties, Roupen extended his holdings. It is highly unlikely that he issued any coins, since he ruled only over a small mountainous territory.

GOSDANTIN I (1095-1100) succeeded his father, Roupen. It was during this period that the first wave of Crusaders arrived, and the Armenians established close ties with them as natural allies against both the Byzantines and the Seljuks. The Armenians actively assisted the Crusaders by supplying them with necessities during the siege of Antioch. It is not likely that Gosdantin issued coins, although a unique specimen, badly worn, with the inscription only partially legible, has been attributed by some to Gosdantin.

TOROS I (IIOO-II23) felt himself sufficiently strong to come down from the mountains and capture the important city of Anazarpus from its Byzantine ruler. With the help of Kogh Vasil, he was able to successfully fight off the Seljuk attacks and extended his territory considerably.

By this time, the Armenians were beginning to play a part in the internal struggles of the Crusaders. Toros helped Baldwin II of Edessa in his wars against the Emir of Mosul. When Baldwin became the king of Jerusalem, Joscelin of Courtenay succeeded him. Joscelin was the brother-in-law of Toros, and the relationships were friendly. On the other hand, both Toros and Kogh Vasil were forced to war against



Tancred, who had ambitions of establishing a Norman kingdom in Cilicia. There are no coins left from Toros, and in all probability none was issued.

LEVON I (II23-II38) succeeded his brother. He was an ambitious, energetic man, and in a short time captured the Byzantine cities of Mamistra, Adana and Tarsus, and extended his boundaries to the Mediterranean Sea. He had a quarrel with Bohemond II of Antioch and in alliance with the Danishmend emir, Ghazi, defeated him. Bohemond was killed by the Danishmends. Thereafter, Antioch went to Count Raymond and thus became more French than Norman in its ruling class. Raymond, in turn, managed to capture Levon through a ruse and gave him his freedom only after Levon agreed to cede the towns of Mamistra and Adana to his captor. Upon gaining his freedom, however, Levon recaptured the cities and prepared to resume his feud with Raymond. Matters would have become worse had not Levon's nephew, Joscelin of Edessa, arranged for a truce and a friendly peace.

Probably the real reason the two adversaries decided to make peace was the realization that a storm was breaking over their heads. The Byzantine emperor, John Comnenus, who had always considered both Cilicia and northern Syria as Byzantine territory, looked upon the establishment of the Norman principality of Antioch and the formation of an independent Cilician Armenia as outright acts of rebellion.

In 1137, the Emperor reached Cilicia with a large army and managed to capture not only the main cities, but also Levon and his wife, who was the sister of Baldwin of Edessa, and their two sons, Roupen and Toros. Two other sons, Stephen and Mleh, were with Joscelin of Edessa and thus escaped capture. The prisoners were carried to Constantinople where Levon, broken hearted, died within a year. One son, Roupen, was killed by the Byzantines, but Toros escaped and returned to Cilicia after an absence of seven years.

TOROS II (1144-1168) reached Cilicia, and upon hearing of his arrival, the Armenians gathered their forces under him. In a short time, Toros became master of Cilicia. A second attempt by the Byzantines to subdue the Armenians failed. The emperor's son, Andronicus, even though supported by local Armenian rulers—Oshin of Lampron and Tigran of Bragan, who were vassals of the emperor,



suffered a crushing defeat. The prisoners were allowed to obtain their freedom by paying high ransoms.

As a last resort, the Byzantine emperor Manuel coaxed Sultan Mas'ūd of Konya to attack Toros. The Sultan was defeated by the combined forces of the Armenians and the Templars. Following these successes, Toros extended his territory by capturing Isauria from the Sultan.

The Byzantines this time promised large sums to the prince of Antioch, Reynald of Chatillon, to attack Cilicia. The results were indecisive, and when the emperor failed to pay for the war expenses, Reynald joined Toros and the two invaded and pillaged Cyprus.

As a last measure, the Emperor came to Cilicia with a large army. Reynald came begging the forgiveness of the Emperor, and Toros retired into the mountains. Eventually, through the intervention of Baldwin III of Jerusalem, peace was established whereby Toros swore allegiance to the Emperor and was named Pansebasdos by the latter.

This was the last major interference on the part of the Byzantines in the affairs of Cilicia, although there were several attempts by local Byzantine governors to defy the will of Toros. In the bitter struggles that ensued, Toros crushed their power and forced many of them to leave Cilicia.

There is a thick coin or medal, probably struck by Toros II. In addition, a small copper coin attributed to this prince recently came into the possession of the author. It bears the name of Toros. As Toros II had considerable power and holdings, it is quite possible that he struck coins, although only the two coins mentioned above are known to be in existence.²

MLEH (1169-1174). Although Toros had left a young son as his heir under the care of the Bail Thomas, his ambitious brother, Mleh, obtained the assistance of Nūr-al-Dīn of Aleppo in whose service he had been in the latter part of Toros' reign, and became ruler of Cilicia. He was a man of curious qualities. He had at one time joined the order of the Templars and had fought the infidels with distinction. He then joined the Moslems and fought the Christians. His hatred of the Byzantines knew no bounds, and he decimated the Greek population



² Alishan, Sissouan, p. 378. See Pl. I.

of Cilicia. He took every opportunity to rob the rich, including the church and its dignitaries. His reign became unbearable, and the Armenian princes finally assassinated him. Mleh was buried in the monastery of Medskar, which he had built during a period of religious fervor.

Alishan mentions that Mleh struck coins, but unfortunately could not recall his source of information. He might possibly have had in mind Brosset's attribution of a certain coin to Mleh, but Langlois has shown it to belong to some other ruler in Asia Minor.

ROUPEN II (1175-1187). The princes elected Roupen, the son of Stephen, as the successor of Mleh. He was a capable ruler, determined to put an end to the elements still recognizing the suzerainty of the emperor of Byzantium. Roupen laid siege to Lampron, whose rulers were powerful princes still considering themselves the vassals of Byzantium. Lampron's ruler appealed to Antioch and a conference was arranged. Bohemond of Antioch treacherously held Roupen prisoner. However, Roupen's brother continued the siege of Lampron and forced its lord, Hetoum, to arrange for the release of Roupen. The latter was released upon payment of a ransom of 30,000 dinars and the cession of the cities of Adana and Mamistra to Antioch. Soon after his release, Roupen and Levon recaptured the two cities and arranged for the purchase of Tarsus. It appears from these transactions that the payments were made with either Byzantine or possibly Arab money, since no coins of Roupen have been found. One cannot, however, entirely exclude the possibility that Roupen struck some coins since both his predecessor and his successor issued coins.

LEVON II (as Prince or Baron, II87-II99). When Roupen decided to retire from active life and spend his remaining days in a monastery, he turned over the reins of government to his younger brother, since he had no living male heir. Levon proved to be the most capable and ambitious of the Roupenians. He now had a large and powerful country and he planned the establishment of a new Armenian dynasty. Since it was the custom to receive the crown either from an emperor or the Pope, Levon took steps to explore all avenues. According to Nerses of Lampron, a crown was promised by Frederick Barbarossa because of the help rendered to the Crusaders by the



³ Brosset, Hist. du Bas-Empire, XVI, p. 305.

⁴ Langlois, Num. de l'Arménie au moyen âge, p. 34.

Armenians. It was indeed a shock to Levon when he learned that the aged Emperor had accidentally drowned in the river Calycadnus in Cilicia.

In 1196, an appeal was made to Frederick's successor, Henry VI, while the latter was in Milan. The Emperor, having plans for a new crusade, promised a crown to Amalric of Cyprus and to Levon. In the meantime, Levon arranged a rapprochement between the Armenian National Church and the Roman Church, in spite of the violent opposition of the Armenian people and the Bishops. The superficial agreement between the two churches won Pope Celestine III's support for a crown for Levon.

In September, 1197, the Imperial Chancellor, Conrad, Bishop of Hildesheim, came to Nicosia and crowned Amalric king of Cyprus. Both the Pope and Emperor Henry were in favor of giving a crown to Levon. Although the Emperor died in January 1198, soon after his death his Chancellor, Conrad of Hildesheim, came with the Papal legate, Conrad of Mittelsbach, Archbishop of Mainz, to Tarsus and a great coronation ceremony took place on January 6, 1199. The Armenian Catholicos, Gregory Abirad, placed the crown on Levon's head and anointed him as king while Conrad gave him a royal sceptre.⁵

THE ARMENIAN KINGDOM OF CILICIA

Levon became king and nominally a vassal of the German emperor. During his lifetime, Levon became embroiled in struggles with Antioch which weakened the Christian cause. Levon had extracted a promise from Bohemond III of Antioch that of the two heirs, Raymond and not Bohemond IV of Tripoli would succeed the father. In his efforts to enforce the promise, Levon laid siege to Antioch in 1203 but was forced to withdraw upon the approach of Al-Zāḥir Ghāzi of Aleppo. In 1208, he managed to capture the town but the citadel held and eventually the Armenian forces were withdrawn. In 1216, he finally captured the city, including the citadel, and established his great nephew Raymond-Roupen as prince of Antioch. However, in 1220 Raymond-Roupen was ousted by his uncle, Bohemond of Tripoli.

For further details of the history of this period see Runciman's History of the Crusades, Grousset's Histoire des Croisades, and A History of the Crusades edited by K. M. Setton. Among the Armenian publications Alishan in his Sissouan gives the most detailed account of this period.



In his last years, Levon suffered a severe reverse in his struggles against his hereditary enemy, the Sultan Kaikaus of Konya. The Armenian army under Constable Gosdantin suffered a calamitous defeat and many of the nobility were taken prisoner. The aged Levon was barely able to force the retreat of the Sultan by invading the latter's territory and was later compelled to conclude a peace treaty on the Sultan's terms in order to secure the release of the prisoners. It was this treaty that most likely eventually led to the striking of bilingual coins by Hetoum.⁶

Besides the limited number of gold coins, thousands of silver and copper coins struck by Levon have reached us. He also struck coins in Antioch to commemorate his victory.

ZABEL AND HETOUM I (1226–1271). Levon left a three year old daughter, Zabel, as his only heir. The inevitable struggles for succession began. The first pretender to the throne was John of Brienne of Jerusalem, who claimed priority over Zabel because of his lineage from the early Roupenians. The Armenians appealed to the Pope who warned John not to interfere in Armenian affairs on pain of excommunication. The second pretender, Raymond-Roupen, managed to gather some adherents and seized the city of Tarsus. However, Constable Gosdantin succeeded in capturing him and caused his death in prison in 1222.

Gosdantin then offered the throne to the fourth son of Bohemond of Antioch, probably in the belief that an alliance with Antioch would serve as a deterrent to the sultan of Konya, Kaikobad, who had earlier invaded Cilicia. The eighteen year old Philip promised that he would join the Armenian National Church, abide by the regulations and customs of the court, and make no effort to introduce Latin customs. However, a year or two after his marriage to Zabel, Philip began disregarding his promises and replaced many of the Armenians in court with Latins. When it was discovered that he was also secretly sending the royal treasures to his father in Antioch, the outraged Armenian princes seized the young king and imprisoned him in the fortress of Till-Hamdoon late in 1224. His father refused to return the treasures, and Philip died in prison shortly thereafter, probably as a result of poisoning.

⁶ Bedoukian, ANS Museum Notes VII, pp. 219-230.



It is curious that although Philip was king for three years, we have no coins issued by him.

Gosdantin was now the real ruler of the land and the head of the Hetoumians, the second most powerful family after the Roupenians. He obtained the consent of the Catholicos, the head of the Armenian Church, and the majority of the barons to marry his son Hetoum to Zabel. This marriage joined the two families and had a stabilizing influence on the kingdom. Gosdantin made peace with the neighboring countries and promised the sultan of Konya that he would strike some bilingual coins in accordance with Levon's agreement with the sultan. The peace treaty was probably signed in 1228 and lasted until 1245, when the Armenians allied themselves with the Mongols, thereby incurring the enmity of the Seljuks. No bilingual coins were issued after 1245.

Hetoum proved to be a very capable ruler and took steps to consolidate his kingdom. His alliance with the Mongols saved the Armenians from the attacks of the Seljuks and the Mamluks of Egypt. When the Khan of the Mongols, Guyuk, died, and a new Khan, Mongka, was elected, Hetoum set out in person to Karakorum, then the center of the most powerful realm the world had ever known, and was received with great honors by the Khan. Hetoum obtained concessions for the Christians and his kingdom, and returned with promises of assistance against his enemies.

For a while, the Khan's brother, Hulagu, carried out some successful campaigns against the Mamluks, but gradually the tide turned against him. In 1266, the Mamluk sultan, Baibars, captured most of the Crusader towns and threatened Cilicia. Aware of the danger, Hetoum left his two sons, Levon and Toros, to guard the country and set out to seek the assistance of the Ilkhan Abagha of Tabriz. The Mamluk forces overwhelmed the outnumbered Armenians, and in the fight Toros was killed and Levon was captured. One Mamluk army sacked the towns of Ayas, Adana and Tarsus, and another one advanced on Sis, burning the town and looting the treasury. It was a disaster from which the Armenians never fully recovered.

Hetoum returned too late with a small Mongol army. He was forced to conclude a treaty with Baibars in which he ceded some frontier forts, thus leaving the southern defenses in a very weak position.



The crown prince, Levon, was released in exchange for a prisoner of the Mongols who was Baibars' favorite. Levon returned to his country, and the aged Hetoum retired to a monastery. This was in 1269 and the following year Levon was crowned king.

Hetoum had continued his predecessor's policy of striking silver coins of a high degree of fineness. A limited number of bilingual coins were struck as previously mentioned, in compliance with the treaty with the sultan of Konya. Later in his reign, Hetoum struck copper coins similar to Levon's, as well as coins of lesser size and weight.

LEVON II (1270–1289). Levon was crowned king on January 6, 1271, in the church of St. Sophia, in Tarsus. He faced a difficult period since the country had suffered from the attacks of the Mamluks and Baibars was threatening the complete destruction of the Crusader principalities and the Armenian kingdom. In 1272 Baibars invaded Cilicia, and in spite of the stubborn defense, succeeded in capturing Adana and Mamistra. His efforts to capture Sis failed and on his retreat, he sacked the city of Ayas. His successes and the failure of the Mongols to help the Armenians encouraged Baibars to march into Asia Minor in an effort to incite the Seljuks to revolt against the Mongols. He defeated the Mongol garrison but retreated upon the advance of the main Mongol army. On his return, he was harassed by Levon's forces and died near Damascus.

The Mongol Khan Abagha wreaked vengeance on the Seljuks by slaughtering untold thousands. He then asked Levon to become the ruler of this vast domain, but Levon, seeing the impossibility of governing hostile peoples with his very limited forces, wisely rejected the offer. In the years 1280 and 1281 there were several bloody encounters between the Mamluk and Mongol-Armenian forces, without conclusive results.

The new sultan of Egypt, Qalā'ūn, continued his attacks on Levon. The constant wars were costing dear and seeing that the Mongols were no longer in a position to help him, Levon sought peace and accepted the terms set by the Mamluks—an annual tribute of half a million takvorins of which half was to be paid in cash, the remainder in horses, mules and iron bars. The peace gave the Armenians a breathing spell. The port of Ayas prospered since it was the only Langlois in his Cartulaire, pp. 217–231 gives the original Arabic text of

Langlois in his Cartulaire, pp. 217–231 gives the original Arabic text of this treaty along with its French translation.



Christian port open to the vast Mongol hinterland for trade and the duties from goods shipped and received made possible the payment of the annual tribute.

During the eleven years of peace, the country recovered and cultural institutions were encouraged. Large numbers of manuscripts were prepared and distributed to churches and monasteries which were seats of learning. Some of these have survived and include the finest examples of Armenian art as indicated in the illuminated manuscripts.

Levon died on February 6, 1289. Of the eleven children born to him, nine were living at the time of his death. His five sons fought among each other and at one time or other each managed to occupy the throne. Of the two daughters, Zabel married the brother of the king of Cyprus and Rita became the empress of Byzantium. The other two daughters married Crusader princes.

HETOUM II (1289–1293, 1295–1296, 1299–1301, 1301–1306), TOROS (1293–1295), SMPAD (1296–1298), GOSDANTIN I (1298–1299). Levon II left his kingdom to his eldest son, Hetoum II, who, however, preferred a religious life to that of governing his land. In the first years of his rule, the Mamluk sultan, Qalā'ūn, and later his son, al-Ashraf, destroyed the remnants of the Crusader principalities so that by 1299 all of the coastal cities were captured and much of the population put to the sword. The southern and eastern borders of Cilicia were left open, with no friendly powers to protect them. When al-Ashraf invaded Cilicia, Hetoum was forced to sue for peace and surrendered a number of border forts to the enemy.

In 1293, Hetoum retired to the monastery and turned over his kingdom to his next brother, Toros. Two years later, however, at the insistence of the princes as well as Toros, Hetoum again undertook the task of ruling the country. During this period, Toros apparently did not attempt to issue coins since he was not crowned king.

In 1296, Hetoum and Toros left for Constantinople to attend the wedding of their sister with Michael, the son of Andronicus Palaelogus, and the country was left in the care of the next brother, Smpad. Smpad soon declared himself king with the consent of the Catholicos and some of the princes, and consolidated his position by paying a visit to the Ilkhan Ghāzān who recognized his claim to the throne. When his brothers returned from the wedding, he had them im-



prisoned. Toros was later killed and Hetoum partially blinded. These deeds caused the next brother, Gosdantin, to rebel against Smpad, and in the ensuing struggles, Gosdantin managed to capture the city of Sis, imprison Smpad, and set Hetoum free. The blind Hetoum was quite willing to let his brother Gosdantin rule the country. The following year, however, Hetoum recovered his eyesight, and the princes again appealed to him to rule the country. Gosdantin, not willing to give up the throne, liberated his brother Smpad and the two set out to eliminate Hetoum. The country was with Hetoum as the lawful king, and with the assistance of the Templars and Hospitallers who were his vassals and held forts in Cilicia, Hetoum emerged victorious. The two rebel brothers were captured and sent to Constantinople, where they eventually died.

The Ilkhan Ghāzān, now having become a Moslem, declared himself Sultan, came to Syria with an army, and with the help of Armenian forces won a resounding victory over the Mamluks. Hetoum was able to recover much lost territory, including the important border fortress of Till-Hamdoon.

In 1301, the Mamluks gained control of Syria, and again invaded Cilicia, laying waste the lowlands. The Mongol-Armenian forces met defeat, and Cilicia was repeatedly attacked. Hetoum appealed to the Khan to send a Mongol force to defend the southern borders. The Khan complied and a token Mongol force under Pilarghou was stationed near Anazarpus. Hetoum left the problems of state to his appointed successor, and in 1305 again retired to a monastery.

LEVON III (1301–1307). Hetoum II had appointed his brother Toros' son, Levon, as co-ruler on June 29, 1301, so that he could eventually retire to a monastery. Although the coronation of Levon took place on July 30, 1306, he was in fact recognized as king of the Armenians from 1301 on, and in at least one instance, he is referred to as king in a contemporary manuscript dated 1302.8 It is therefore logical to date his rule from 1301 and to assume that his coinage extends over the period of 1301–1307. The silver coins of Levon III are sufficiently numerous to rule out the possibility that they could have all been struck from his coronation in 1306 until his death, November 17, 1307.

In addition to the external forces burdening the kingdom, religious controversies within the country began to create a turmoil which soon ⁸ Hagopyan, pp. 193–194.



divided the land into two antagonistic camps. The coming of the Crusaders had helped to establish an Armenian kingdom in Cilicia, and its ruling family had formed close ties with the leaders of the Crusader principalities. Intermarriage between the Armenian and Crusader nobility was very common. In order to strengthen their ties with the Crusaders, the Armenian kings attempted to bring about a rapprochement between the Armenian National Church and the Church of Rome. Nevertheless, although the Armenian royalty was partially Latinized as a result of the frequent intermarriages, the common people and most of the princes remained staunch adherents of the National Church. A meeting was held in March of 1307 in Sis, in an effort to find common theological grounds for the union of the two churches. Many of the high clergymen of Cilicia, hoping that such a union would lead to a new Crusade, advocated union with the Catholic Church. The clergymen from greater Armenia, however, opposed such a union, considering it tantamount to Latinization of the Armenian nation. Typical of events in the Middle Ages, religious feelings ran high and the nation was torn in two.

Perhaps at the instigation of the nationalists, Hetoum and Levon were called on false pretexts by the Mongol general, Pilarghou, to attend a meeting, and then were treacherously murdered (November 17, 1307). It was ironic that Hetoum should die at the hands of a man who at his own request had been sent by the great Khan to help him stave off the Mamluk attacks.

OSHIN (1308-1320). Upon hearing of his brother's murder, Oshin went to Anazarpus and drove out the Mongol general. The latter, on Oshin's complaint, was recalled by the great Khan and decapitated for his deed. Oshin then declared himself ruler of the land, and was crowned the following year in the St. Sophia Cathedral in Tarsus.

During Oshin's reign, several religious meetings were held in an effort to find a solution to the problem of rapprochement between the two churches. At first, Oshin took stern measures in an attempt to force the nationalist elements to comply with his wishes and went to the extent of exiling or imprisoning those who opposed him. However, seeing the futility of his efforts to join the Armenian and Roman churches, he had the wisdom to permit matters to take their natural course and henceforth pursued the middle road to avoid religious controversies.



During the years 1314-1315, external enemies again invaded Cilicia. An incursion by some Anatolian tribes was successfully repelled by the Lord of Gorigos in the westernmost part of Cilicia. The following year, the Mamluk Sultan, Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, captured Malatia (Melitene). Oshin still controlled considerable territory, larger in area than the former Crusader principalities. The loss of Laranda to the Mamluks in 1316 brought about the gradual shrinking of the boundaries under the attacks of the Mamluks. Two years later, the Qaramanids invaded the western parts of the land, but were beaten back by the Lord of Gorigos (also named Oshin). Determined to destroy the last remaining Christian power on the mainland, the Mamluks entered Cilicia with a large army in 1320 and began ravaging the land. The Armenian army was no longer able to meet the enemy in the open. but under the able leadership of the Bail Oshin and Constable Gosdantin, it surprised the enemy, slaughtered 6000 of them near Ayas, and forced the Mamluks to flee. King Oshin did not live to see this victory, having died shortly before this event—on July 20, 1320.

There are a limited number of Oshin's coins, bearing an Arabic surcharge struck in the name of Al-Nāṣir. It is probable that these represent coins in the royal treasury which Oshin's successor used to pay tribute to the Mamluks, who then overstruck Nasir's name. The tribute money, consisting mostly of Levon IV coins, most likely included some takvorins of Oshin.

LEVON IV (1320-1342). Oshin was succeeded by his only son, Levon, who was ten years old at the time of his father's death. Of the four regents who had been appointed, Oshin, the Lord of Gorigos, became the actual ruler of the country, and eventually married his daughter to the king.

The Mamluk attacks continued. The Armenian forces were often compelled to fight back from the mountains and fortified points since they were not able to face the enemy on open ground. Eventually, at the intervention of the Khan in Persia, the Mamluk sultan consented to a fifteen year peace on condition that the Armenians pay an annual tribute of 1,200,000 takvorins, half the income from the port of Ayas, and half the income from salt revenues.^{9, 10}

- ⁹ See a report on this treaty in Langlois' Cartulaire p. 232-233.
- ¹⁰ Most of the Armenian coins having an Arabic surcharge belong to Levon IV although a small number are from Oshin. About one quarter of



Had Levon shown some wisdom in managing the internal affairs of the country, the nation might have survived and even prospered. Unfortunately, internal dissension weakened the land. The regent put to death the king's sister and her two children, and these acts so aroused the king's anger that he had Oshin and his brother decapitated. Levon then put to death his queen, who was Oshin's daughter, and married the daughter of Frederick II of Sicily, who had a large income.

Levon's efforts to establish a closer relationship with the west angered Al-Nāṣir, who then persuaded the Emir of Aleppo to invade Cilicia in spite of the existing peace treaties. Levon was forced to conclude a new treaty which gave all the land east of the Djehiun river to the Egyptians, including the highly profitable port of Ayas. This treaty, signed in 1337, spelled the end of the Armenian kingdom.

Not learning his lesson, Levon raised the question of unity between the Armenian and the Roman Catholic churches. Religious feelings again ran high, and the nationalist elements, finding the actions of the king intolerable, assassinated him on August 28, 1342.

GUY LUSIGNAN (1342-1344). With the death of Levon IV, there being no heirs, the male royal line of Roupen-Hetoum became extinct. Levon had designated as his successor his nearest of kin, Guy Lusignan, the son of his paternal aunt, Isabel (who was the wife of Amaury of Lusignan, Count of Tyre, nephew of Henry II of Cyprus). At the time of Levon's death, Guy was in Constantinople. The nobles and clergy agreed to call him to the throne, and in the meantime, appointed Guy's brother John as guardian of the throne until Guy's arrival. Guy consented to become king with understandable reluctance, since the country was in dire straits and needed outside help for survival.

Guy arrived with a force of three hundred soldiers and was crowned in October, 1342. Guy, or Gosdantin II, as he was called by the Armenians, was a good soldier and he refused to continue payment of tributes to the Moslems. In the ensuing fights, Guy proved his mettle, managing to keep his territory intact, and during his short reign made no payments. This, considering the conditions at the time, was an accomplishment of some merit.

the coins (takvorins) of Levon examined had a surcharge bearing Sultan Nasir's name.



Guy, however, was French in spirit, and most likely felt little kinship with the Armenians. The fact that his mother and two brothers had been put to death by Oshin during the reign of King Levon IV did not increase his love for the Armenians. Mindful of the necessity of obtaining help from the Pope, he proceeded to send ambassadors to Avignon in an effort to bring about the union between the Roman and Armenian churches. The court took on the appearance of a Latin house, and the king surrounded himself with French speaking courtiers, who held the highest positions in the land.

The assassination of earlier rulers who had behaved in a similar manner did not seem to deter Guy. The Armenians did not feel that he was their chosen king, and strongly believed that a union with the Roman church would result in the loss of their identity. Under the leadership of a nobleman, by the name of Oshin, the Armenians attacked and killed the king, along with his brother and the three hundred soldiers who had come to Armenia as the king's bodyguard.

There is not much information to be found about Guy in contemporary Armenian manuscripts. One has to rely on Dardel's report and also records of communications between the king and the Pope when negotiations were being carried on to bring about a union between the two churches.

The fact that the king's French name, Guy, and not the Armenian name, Gosdantin, appears on his coins, perhaps indicates a lack of consideration on his part of his subjects' feelings. On the other hand, Guy was a good soldier, and had he lived, he might have been able to strengthen the country militarily and economically by resisting the demands of the Moslems.

GOSDANTIN III (1344–1363). After the assassination of Guy (Gosdantin II), the Armenian nobles chose as their King the eldest son of Baldwin, the Lord of Neghir and head of a powerful family of the realm. The crown thus passed to a person who although distantly related to the royal house, was not of royal blood.

In order to consolidate his position, Gosdantin III thought it prudent to eliminate all those who by their family relationships to the Hetoumians or Lusignans might have prior claim to the throne. He imprisoned the wife and two young children of Guy's brother, John de Lusignan, and may have planned to cause their death, but the mother, aware of their peril, escaped and fled with her children,



Bohemond and Leo, to the court of Cyprus. The young Leo, then aged two, was destined to be the last king of Cilician Armenia.

With a native Armenian as their ruler, the people and princes were content for a while, but reports indicate that negotiations for an understanding between the Roman and Armenian churches continued.

In 1347, Gosdantin gained possession of the important port of Ayas, with the aid of the Knights of Rhodes. This victory was short-lived, however, since in the same year the Egyptian fleet blockaded the city and finally captured it. Simultaneously, the Turcoman tribes from Asia Minor attacked the country and managed to capture the fort of Baberon near Tarsus. As if these disasters were not sufficient, the Asiatic plague swept over Armenia and on to Europe, causing the death of countless millions.

The final blow came in 1360 when Sultan Al-Nāṣir's army under the leadership of Sayf al-Dīn, the Emir of Aleppo, captured the cities of Adana and Tarsus and devastated Sis. An Egyptian garrison was placed permanently in Adana and Tarsus, and thus these two cities were lost to the Armenians.

Gosdantin was left only in possession of the inland mountainous regions of the country. All of the cities and countryside adjacent to the sea were in the hands of the enemies. Even the fort of Gorigos was captured by the Qaramānids but it was later regained by Peter I of Cyprus and thereafter belonged to Cyprus and not Armenia.

It may be of interest to note that at this time the Emir of Aleppo had coins struck in Tarsus in the name of Sultan Al-Nāsir.

Gosdantin was powerless to oppose the relentless attacks of his enemies. In the meantime, Peter I of Cyprus had ambitions of either becoming the king of Armenia or placing the nephew of the former King Guy on the throne. He was able to find some encouragement for his plans among the Armenian princes, who, no doubt discouraged by the reverses of Gosdantin, hoped to regain some of the lost possessions with outside assistance.

Peter took the elder nephew of Guy, named Bohemond, and set out to Avignon in 1362 in the hope of persuading the Pope to crown Bohemond as king of the Armenians. Unfortunately, Bohemond became ill in Venice and died shortly thereafter, the claim to the throne thus passing to his younger brother, Leo. The Pope in a letter



given to Peter and addressed to the Armenians, dated April 3, 1365, exhorted the Armenians to accept Leo as their true king.

While these events were taking place in Europe, Gosdantin died and a Levon, who was probably Gosdantin's son, claimed the throne.

LEVON THE USURPER (1363–1365). Although Gosdantin III died in 1363, Gosdantin IV did not ascend the throne until 1365. In the two intervening years, it appears that another person, usually referred to as Levon the Usurper, occupied the throne. Contemporary Armenian historians make no mention of this Levon, but it seems possible that he was a son of Gosdantin III.

Basmadjian¹¹ considered this possibility and pointed out that Gosdantin himself mentioned in 1345 that he had two sons named Oshin and Levon. Alishan mentions the chronicler, Avedik of Amida, who said that "one by the name of Levon became king and there was much disorder in the land." Alishan, however, did not believe that any children of Gosdantin III were alive in 1363, and this point is made quite clear in one of his publications. Dulaurier¹³ states that in a Gospel belonging to Gosdantin III, dated 1345, Levon is mentioned as being one of the king's sons. The Greek historian, Makhaeras, reports that in 1360 the Armenian throne was in the hands of Levon who had two hundred castles and towns. The discrepancy of three years in the dates may not be significant.

Although historical evidence seems to be rather meager in support of the existence of a Levon who ruled from 1363 to 1365, there is ample numismatic evidence to indicate that such a king did exist and did issue coins.

GOSDANTIN IV (1365-1373). It is not known just why Levon the Usurper resigned and permitted the son of Hetoum of Neghir to be crowned king under the name of Gosdantin IV, in 1365. Most likely, political pressures made it impossible for him to remain on the throne.

The new Gosdantin was well aware of his difficult situation and was in constant touch with Peter I, the vigorous king of Cyprus. It appears that in 1367 an agreement was reached between the two kings



¹¹ Basmadjian, Leo V Lusignan, p. 27.

¹² Alishan, *Sissouan* p. 544 and 560.

¹³ Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Documents Arméniens, Vol. I p. 714 and 707. See also Khachigyan, p. 343.

¹⁴ See Basmadjian, Leo V Lusignan, p. 24, footnote 1.

to attack Ayas. Peter approached Ayas and captured the city, but was unsuccessful in his attempts to enter the Citadel fort. Gosdantin on his part was not able to reach Ayas, and after waiting eight days, Peter returned to Cyprus. The inability of Gosdantin to make a contact by land indicated his military weakness, and the enemy was already well established in the lowlands between Sis and Ayas.

The Armenians, including the king, were quite willing to have Peter as their king in the hope of obtaining some military assistance. A delegation followed Peter who had again gone to Europe in the hope of obtaining aid from the kings of Europe. The Armenian delegation met Peter in August, 1368 in Venice, and offered him his long sought throne of Armenia. Peter hurried back to Cyprus in order to enter Armenia. After having settled some urgent matters in Cyprus, he got ready to sail for Cilicia, but was murdered by one of his courtiers on July 1, 1369. Peter thus never did become king of the Armenians and Gosdantin continued to reign. Langlois'15 assertion that he saw a silver coin of Peter, King of the Armenians, must be dismissed, as the coin must either have been a forgery or a mistake was made in its identification.16

In the meantime, the Moslems were relentlessly pressing their attacks on the Armenians and Gosdantin's realm now consisted solely of a small landlocked territory around Sis and Anazarpus. Even these small holdings were constantly under attack, and in 1369 the enemy succeeded in setting fire to Sis itself. The attacks were repeated in the following year and the Emir of Aleppo succeeded in capturing the city. This apparently referred to the lower city, as the Citadel always remained in the hands of the king and his armed forces, who regained the city after the retreat of the enemy.

To some, the only solution to their desperate situation seemed to be a close alliance with Cyprus and the Western powers, and constant efforts were made to find a suitable person for the throne of Armenia who could save the country.

Leo appears to have been actively inciting the pro-Western party in Cilicia to depose Gosdantin IV and place him on the throne. A

was in the collection of Dr. Orta in Adana, Cilicia. This collection was eventually dispersed and sold and no trace of the Peter coin was ever found.



<sup>Langlois, Num. de l'Arménie au moyen âge p. 96-97. Pl. IV, No. 9.
Sibilian expressed these views (p. 69). The coin which Langlois pictures</sup>

delegation which arrived in Cyprus in 1372-73, inviting Leo to the throne, did not achieve its purpose because at that time Peter of Cyprus was still alive and had ambitions of adding Armenia to his holdings. For this reason, Leo could not openly accept the offer. Soon after the return of the delegation to Sis, Gosdantin IV was murdered (1373, April) and the widow of Gosdantin III was elected Regent.

LEVON V LUSIGNAN (1374-1375). After the murder of Gosdantin IV. a second delegation, empowered by letters from the Catholicos and princes, came to Cyprus and asked Peter II to permit Leo to ascend the throne of Armenia. As mentioned earlier, Leo was the grandson of Amaury and Isabel Lusignan. His father, John, had been called from Cyprus by Levon III to become the constable. John was related to the king, being his cousin on his paternal uncle's side. John was well liked for his ability and understanding. He was married to a daughter of King George VII of Georgia and had earned the trust of the Armenians. It was no wonder then that he had been selected as the Regent until the accession of Guy to the throne. John died in 1342, leaving five children, of whom the youngest was Leo, aged two. When Gosdantin III, who was not of royal blood, ascended the throne, he had, in an effort to eliminate all pretenders, imprisoned the young Leo with his mother and elder brother. Eventually, they escaped to Cyprus, the older brother died, and Leo was left as the sole claimant.

Peter of Cyprus, having an eye on the throne, refused to grant Leo permission to accept the offer of the Armenians. The delegation, after receiving some orders from Leo, returned to Sis with the greatest difficulty. In the meantime, the Genoese had entered Cyprus, Peter was assassinated, and Leo was imprisoned. After paying a heavy ransom, which included loss of all of his and his wife's wealth, Leo succeeded in getting permission to sail to the Cilician fort of Gorigos, still possessed by Cyprus.

Leo arrived in Gorigos on April 2, 1374. He was planning a course of action when he learned that the Genoese planned to take him back to Cyprus to face charges of attempting to take Cyprus from the Genoese. Forewarned of these charges, Leo placed his mother and his wife in safe hands in Gorigos, and with 25 horse, 100 foot soldiers, and two guides, headed towards Sis, avoiding all possible contact with the Moslems. He reached Sis safely, and the Armenians, being



notified of his approach, welcomed their new king. Leo reached Sis on July 26, 1374, and a few days later had his family brought to Sis. As Leo's wife was approaching childbirth, the coronation ceremonies were postponed. Twin daughters were born to Leo. The coronation took place on September 14, 1374, in the presence of the Catholicos and a Latin bishop. Leo, being a Roman Catholic, had intended to be crowned and consecrated according to the Latin rites, but in view of the opposition of the nationalist Armenians, agreed to have two ceremonies. He was crowned first by the Latin bishop and then by the Catholicos, as Levon V, King of the Armenians. This dual ceremony was the only course open to Levon, but it apparently antagonized the nationalist elements who had long resisted any efforts to introduce Latins or Latin customs to the Armenian court.

Levon further antagonized them by giving high positions to his lieutenants. Prior to his arrival, the ruling elements in the city had been paying tribute to the Moslems as the price of being left in peace. Levon was quite willing to continue the payment of this tribute until he could organize his newly acquired realm.

The enemy, possibly at the instigation of the nationalist element, laid siege to Sis. Two Moslems leaders, Dā'ūd Beg and Abu-Bakr, after a three month desultory siege, agreed to withdraw upon payment of a tribute. Within the city of Sis, religious feelings had reached a high pitch and the thought of a Catholic king with a Catholic ruling hierarchy had become unbearable to the nationalists. Many of them preferred to live under the domination of the king of Egypt rather than Levon.

The nationalists secretly wrote to a former Armenian prince, Ashot, the nephew of Gosdantin IV, who had turned Moslem and gone to the court of the Sultan of Egypt, asking him to come to Cilicia and establish himself as their king. Ashot informed the Sultan of the turn of events, and Sultan Melik al-Ashraf (1363–1377) commanded Abu-Bakr to capture Sis. Abu-Bakr laid siege to the city with a force of 15,000 on January 5, 1375. Again at the invitation of the nationalist group, the Emir of Aleppo, Al-Nāṣir 'Ashiqtīmūr Abu-Bakr, joined with another force of 15,000 on February 24. Levon retired to the citadel and decided to fight to the end. At this point, the nationalists made an effort to capture or assassinate the king, but were unsuccessful. Levon saw the hopelessness of this situation and decided



to accept Eshiktimour Al-Naṣir's offer of safe conduct if he surrendered. Upon surrendering, Levon was received with great honors by the victor and was sent to Cairo with his queen and fifteen nobles.

The surrender took place on April 16, 1375, thus ending the Roupenian rule in Cilicia which had begun some three hundred years earlier—in 1080.

Levon was eventually released at the intercession of Armenian notables in Cairo, went to Europe, and after making numerous unsuccessful attempts to obtain military aid from western rulers to regain his kingdom, died in Paris in 1393.¹⁷

¹⁷ The History of the latter part of the Roupenian kingdom was clarified only after the discovery of the chronicle of Dardel in 1883. Dardel became the confessor of Levon V Lusignan and wrote an account of the kingdom with special emphasis on the latter periods. The chronicle was published in *Recueil des Croisades*, *Documents Arméniens*, Vol. 2.



TRADE AND COMMERCE OF CILICIAN ARMENIA

The geographical position of Cilicia offered special advantages for the development of trade with the Mediterranean nations and with countries on the Asiatic mainland. Traders of many lands used the Cilician ports for their commercial activities, and the country benefited from this source of revenue.

The coastline of Cilicia possessed a number of fine harbors. A thirteenth century writing and a map by Sanuto¹ describe the coastal cities and harbors of Cilician Armenia. Starting from the easternmost city and moving westward, Sanuto mentions Ayas (Lajasso, ancient Aegae), portus Pallorum (also known as portus de Pallibus, Portella (ԴՈՒԴՆ), and by similar names in medieval records), Mamistra (Armenian Messis, ancient Mopsueste), Adana and Tarsus (Armenian Darson), Gorigos, as well as several others of lesser importance. All of these localities played an important role in the commercial activities of the Roupenian kingdom.

Ayas became an extremely important port of commerce, especially during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. With the disappearance of the Crusader principalities in the east, much of the trade between Europe and the vast Asiatic hinterland passed through this busy port, where many nations and races mixed, giving it the character of an international city. The Genoese, Venetians, and other nations had permanent establishments in this city and enjoyed special trading privileges. The portus Pallorum, shown in a number of medieval maps, was mentioned in various contemporary commercial transactions as having the main customs house of Cilician Armenia.² Although the role of Ayas as the main port gradually overshadowed the activities of the portus Pallorum, it is apparent from the notarial acts that the latter was still used by ships from Genoa and Barcelona in 1274 and in 1300.³ Sanuto stated that the portus Pallorum was



¹ Sanuto, Crucis Lib. II, Pars IV, p. 88.

² Desimoni, p. 436.

³ Desimoni, I, pp. 451, 473, 474-475; II, 2, 40.

situated ten miles (Italian) west of Ayas, between Ayas and the river Pyramus (Djehiun). Desimoni mentions other sources supporting this location.

Ten miles further was the mouth of the river Pyramus (Djehiun) and a short distance inland on the river was the important city of Mamistra. The river Sarus (Sehiun) at that time flowed into the sea, very close to the Pyramus, and formed a common entry to the sea.

The important city of Adana was situated on the Sarus a short distance from the sea. Both Adana and Mamistra were thus on navigable waters and ships were able to use these two ports for commerce. Further west was the river Cydnus, and several leagues inland on the river was the populous city of Tarsus. Records indicate that as late as 1322, it was possible to approach the city by water. For example, it was stated that in 1288 Levon II refused the Genoese permission to enter Tarsus, but that in 1322, when the Egyptians captured Ayas, Genoese and other European ships were forced to use the port of Tarsus. The silt brought down by the rivers from the mountains has changed the coastline, and today the three cities are removed from the sea, no longer near navigable waters. Another important port was Gorygos, on the sea. This port had long been used for commercial activities.

There were also roads for caravans to travel by land. Caravans coming from Aleppo, carrying goods brought from the lands bordering on the Indian ocean, passed Antioch and crossed into Cilician Armenia through the Beilan pass in the Amanus mountains. The road led through the important centers of Ayas, Portella, Mamistra, Adana and Tarsus, then turned north to the pass of Gouglag in the Taurus mountains. The passage was controlled by the powerful fortress of Tarbas, which protected the frontier facing the domain of the Seljuk sultan of Konya. It also had a custom house and collected duties on merchandise leaving or entering the country. A second trade route leading caravans from the northeast, coming from the Asiatic heartland, entered the country near Marash and reached the coastal cities. This road was controlled by another powerful fortress, Gaban, which like Tarbas, collected duties on goods entering or leaving the country.



⁴ Rec. Hist. Croisades, Doc. Arméniens, I, xlii, xliii.

⁵ Rec. Hist. Croisades, Doc. Arméniens, I, xl ff.

⁶ Heyd, pp. 367-368.

While the Armenians were engaged in the struggle to take control of Cilicia, the political situation naturally did not encourage the development of trading activities. With the coronation of Levon I (1199), and the establishment of a large and well organized kingdom, commerce began to flourish.

Genoa and Venice, the two most active trading nations of the Mediterranean, immediately sent ambassadors to Levon's court seeking trade agreements. The Genoese were the first to conclude such an agreement, and a treaty was signed in March, 1201, between Levon and the Genoese ambassador, Ogerio di Pallo. The Genoese obtained exemptions from paying duties on materials imported or exported by them. They were also granted the right to have residences and commercial establishments in Sis, Mamistra and Tarsus. They had their own churches in Mamistra and Tarsus and were allowed to build one in Sis. In addition, they had the right to have their own officials manage and protect Genoese interests and settle jurisdictional disputes.

About six months later, a somewhat similar treaty was signed with the Venetians. They were granted the right to have residences and business establishments in Mamistra, but no mention is made of such privileges in the cities of Tarsus or Sis. They had the same exemptions from duties on imports and exports, but they did not have a consul or bail to protect their interests and settle disputes among themselves. Although at this time, the Genoese appeared to have secured more privileges and freedom of action, the situation was reversed later on, and in the fourteenth century, the Venetians overtook the Genoese in their dealings with Cilician Armenia.

It is interesting to note that the privileges granted to the Venetians stipulated that gold or silver brought to the country would be duty free, except when these precious metals were imported for coinage purposes, in which case the Venetians would pay the same duty as they did in Acre. Curiously enough, this point is repeatedly made in subsequent privileges granted to the Venetians by Hetoum I in 1245, Levon II in 1271, Levon III in 1307, and Levon IV in 1321.9 This suggests the possibility that the Venetians struck gold coins in



⁷ Langlois, Cartulaire, pp. 104–108.

⁸ Langlois, Cartulaire, pp. 109-112.

Langlois, Cartulaire, pp. 143, 151-153, 167-168, 182-184.

Armenia, of the type struck in Acre, in imitation of Arab coins. These have not yet, however, been differentiated from similar coins struck in Crusader principalities. Possibly the "bissancios sarracinales d'Armenie" mentioned on numerous occasions in notarial acts of Ayas, referred to such coins.¹⁰

The privileges granted to the Genoese were renewed in 1215¹¹ with additional advantages, especially with respect to their holdings in Tarsus. Although the Genoese were permitted to trade within the kingdom without paying duties, there were four strategically located districts within the kingdom which maintained the right to impose duties, independent of the king's regulations. The barons who held these localities were listed as: Hetoum of Tabaria, Adom of Gaston, Vahram of Gorygos, and Levon of Gaban. The identity of Hetoum and the exact location of Tabaria are not known definitely.12 Tabaria was most likely the fortress of Tarbas, near the pass of Gouglag. which controlled the passes into the sultanate of Konya. Tabaria was held by a Smpad in 1198, and is mentioned again in 1210 by Levon I in a decree made to the Hospitallers. 13 The fort of Gaston (Armenian, Baghras), was situated just north of Antioch and commanded the pass of Beilan.14 Gorygos was the well-known port facing Cyprus, and ideally situated for trade with Konya. Gaban was another fortress, northwest of Marash, situated on the trade routes to and from Armenia and the northeast. 15 It is obvious that the barons holding these strategic positions enjoyed considerable autonomy, even to the extent of taxing commerce. Levon's promise to eliminate the duties exacted in these districts as soon as he could indicated that he had not yet established absolute control in his newly formed kingdom.

It is unfortunate that no documents have been found listing the goods that passed through Armenian ports during these early years. However, it is obvious that both the Venetians and the Genoese found their trade profitable since they took great pains to have their

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<sup>10</sup> Desimoni, pp. 434-534.
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¹¹ Langlois, Cartulaire, 126-128.

¹² Rec. Hist. Croisades, Doc. Arméniens, I, xcvii, p. 637.

¹³ Rec. Hist. Croisades, Doc. Arméniens, I, p. 637, Langlois, Cartulaire, p. 116.

¹⁴ Rec. Hist. Croisades, Doc. Arméniens, I, p. 171.

¹⁵ Rec. Hist. Croisades, Doc. Arméniens, I, xxv, p. 483.

privileges renewed. In 1245, Hetoum and Zabel renewed the privileges granted to the Venetians, 16 who now had holdings in Ayas as well as Mamistra.

An event took place in 1268 which threatened to end the amicable relations existing between the Armenians and the Genoese. The Genoese admiral, Luchetto de Grimaldi, following an argument with the captain of a galley at Gorigos, seized the ship by force. The galley was laden with valuable merchandise and the owners protested to Hetoum, demanding restitution. The king thereupon severed relations with Genoa and cancelled all privileges until the injured parties were given satisfaction. Genoa sent envoys to settle the matter, and finally, an agreement was reached with the Genoese delegate, J. Palavicino, whereby all claims were settled for the sum of 22,797 Armenian besants and seven charatos. The Armenian besants were the trams of Hetoum-Zabel, and the charatos, the copper coins (kardez) of this period. It is unfortunate that the materials and their values are not listed in contemporary documents.

The privileges of the Venetians were renewed in 1271 by Levon II, and it is mentioned that at this time the Venetians had a consul or bail to take care of their interests.²⁰

Ayas was now becoming increasingly important as a trading center. In 1271, Marco Polo set out from Ayas²¹ on his famous voyages. He remarked that Ayas was a prime port for all types of spices.

Ample evidence exists of the extensive trading activities of the Genoese during this period. The notarial acts of Ayas, as reported by Desimoni²² shed much light on this subject. The acts, covering mainly two years, 1274 and 1279, mention the commercial activities of the Genoese, Pisans and others. They give information on the existence of a hospital of the Teutonic knights, a pier belonging to the Templar knights, ships belonging to the Hospitallers, etc. These documents are extremely valuable in that they mention the various currencies

- ¹⁶ Langlois, Cartulaire, pp. 143-145.
- ¹⁷ Langlois, Cartulaire, 149–151; Desimoni, p. 441 lists individual payments.
- 18 Kardez is the Armenian for charatos.
- 19 Mas Latrie, II, pp. 74-77.
- na Langlois, Cartulaire, pp. 151-153.
- ²¹ Marco Polo, Paulthier, I, pp. 15, 18, 34.
- 22 Desimoni, pp. 434-534.



in use and sometimes give their equivalent values. The English translation of several of these acts are found in a recent publication.²³

In December of 1288, Levon II renewed the privileges granted to the Genoese. In this document, we have an extensive list of materials imported and exported, the duties paid for them, and other relevant information indicative of the trading activities of the Genoese. The whole document is of sufficient interest to be presented here in its English version; the original Armenian and Latin versions, along with a French translation, are given by Langlois.²⁴

PRIVILEGES ACCORDED TO THE GENOESE BY LEVON II, DECEMBER 23, 1288

In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Amen. This is our sublime and royal order, the invariable decree of Levon, true servant of God, and by His grace and mercy, king of all the Armenians, which we have accorded to the Genoese, whom God preserve, upon the request of the illustrious and wise lord, the honorable consul of the Genoese, on this side of the sea, Benedicti Zacarie, the perfect and trusted friend of our kingdom. The Genoese merchants will be treated as follows: in all the cities in our possession, the duties and taxes paid will be the same as in Ayas, except where otherwise indicated, for materials which are sold on the market through an agent, or at home; i.e., they will pay only the brokerage fees. For the wine which they sell in barrels or in jugs, or the oil which they sell in barrels or jars without weighing, they will not pay any duty except a sales tax of one tram per barrel. For slaves purchased in our country and exported from our country, formerly on payment of duty, they will henceforth not pay any duty; but if they purchase Christian slaves, they will vow that the slaves will not be sold to Moslems or to persons who are willing to sell them to Moslems. On lumber, for which they paid a duty of 18 kardez per barzounag, 4 kardez per filakh, 13 kardez per double filakh, and one per cent, these duties are maintained with the exception of the one per cent. On wheat and barley which they imported by sea, paying a duty of four per cent including the broker's commission, they are not to pay the four per cent, but the broker's commission is maintained. On animals taken out of our country, for which they were paying four trams (bissantios stauratos) on each horse or mule, five new trams per donkey, three new trams and one kardez per head of cattle, four kardez for each sheep, six kardez for a buffalo hide, and six kardez for a cattle hide, they will no longer pay any duties, nor will they pay duty for poultry and eggs brought into or taken out of the country. The anchorage tax of



²³ Lopez and Raymond, pp. 171, 224.

²⁴ Langlois, Cartulaire, pp. 154-160.

two new trams per ship's mast, which they paid at the estuary of our rivers, is cancelled. On cattle which they buy, they are to pay no duty except brokerage fees. On iron which they buy, they will pay but one per cent. For the passage of a ship, they will pay half a new tram per load. If the belongings of a Genoese are stolen, and the goods recovered, irrespective of the nationality of the thieves, there will not be a charge of a third for the recovery of the goods. The merchants who receive goods, and are obliged to open their cases and register their belongings, will no longer be required to open their cases, to mark them, or to register their belongings. When a Genoese merchant arrives, and it is not known whether he is Genoese or the son of a Genoese, the consul and his assistants will decide whether he is Genoese or the son of a Genoese. The consul will then send his envoy with his staff to the customs house in order to liberate him and to write in our records the name of the consul and his witnesses, so that the belongings of a merchant will not have to be held until one goes to the customs at Tarsus to bring this permission to the captain of the port. If a Genoese dies without a will, our officers will not have the right to lay hands on his belongings, and the commune (of Genoa) will obtain it and dispose of it as it sees fit. The tax for passage between Ayas and Gouglag is fixed in the following manner: a camel load of silk will be charged 25 new trams; silk cloths, 25 new trams for a camel load. On indigo and botanicals, with the exception of pepper, ginger and brazilwood, they will pay 25 new trams for a camel load, 19 new trams for a mule load, and 16 new trams for a donkey load; for pepper, ginger and brazilwood, 20 new trams for a camel load; for all textiles from France, be they fine or coarse material, or all toile, coarse or fine, they are to pay 20 new trams per camel load; and for all materials for which they pay 20 new trams for a camel load, they are to pay 15 new trams for a mule load and 12 new trams for a donkey load. For cotton, sugar, mercury, coral, lead, copper, and others, they are to pay 15 new trams for a camel load, 12 for a mule load, and 9 new trams for a donkey load; for soap, 10 new trams for a camel load, 8 for a mule load, and 7 for a donkey load. And from this moment on, and in the future, may no one subject to our royal power, be he great or small, have the audacity to oppose our royal and sublime ordinance, or to cause any vexations to the Genoese commune, may God protect it, by exacting other taxes or impositions. And everything shall remain as we have ordained. It is for this reason that we have accorded our royal and sublime ordinance, our august decree, and in order to give it more authority, we have sealed it with our sublime signature, in the year 737 of the Armenian era, the year 2 of the little era, the 23rd of December. May this ordinance be confirmed by the Will of God. It was written by the efforts of the chancellor Hetoum, humble servant of God and of the holy king who has granted this privilege. If a Genoese living in our kingdom possesses hereditary goods, be it from his wife or a gift from our kingdom, and if he dies without a will or hereditary descendants, his goods, with the exception of hereditary possessions. will go to the Genoese, and the latter will revert to our domain.



The Venetians, on their part, were becoming increasingly active in trading. Numerous documents of Venice covering the period²⁵ from 1200 to 1340 are indicative of this fact. There is mention of a bail of Venice in Armenia in 1274 to supervise and protect the interest of Venetians. Thereafter, it appears that there was a Venetian bail in residence in Armenia until the end of the kingdom. In 1303-1304, an event took place which threatened to disrupt the commercial relations of Venice with Armenia. For some unknown reason, the Venetians attacked and captured the fort of Ayas and pillaged it. In retaliation, the Armenians cancelled the privileges granted to the Venetians and it took several years of negotiations before the matter was settled and full compensation was made by the Venetians for the damages incurred. The payments for the goods confiscated are itemized in a document dated 1307.26 This document written in medieval Italian is of sufficient interest to be presented here in its English translation.

SUMS RECLAIMED FOR DAMAGES INCURRED BY THE VENETIANS

I. For the canopies which we	re i	rece	iveo	1 fr	om	hi	m b	у			
them from the royal palace	for	th	e V	ene	tian	g	alley	ys	18,535 trams ²⁷		
One crossbow carried at the chest level received from											
the royal arsenal for the abo	ve-	men	tio	ned	ship	ps (of tl	ne			
Venetians						•	•		100 trams		
Two crossbows of horn .									50 trams		
One bow for arrows					•		•		15 trams		
Two measures of buckram									40 trams		
One measure of cotton .					•				20 trams		
Three measures of canvas		•		•			•		45 trams		
One pennant									15 trams		
Five canvas cuirasses									150 trams		
Five pieces of armor (similar	to:	cui	rass	5)					200 trams		
Four thousand bolts			•						460 trams		
						•	TOTA	\L	1095 trams		
Also the king paid Andree Senuto and Paul Maureceni											
0.	for three days (use) of the above-mentioned galleys and										
for the embassy which they									6757 trams		

²⁵ Alishan, Armeno-Veneto, vols. I, II.



²⁶ Langlois, Cartulaire, pp. 170-175.

²⁷ These sums are obviously in new trams, and not the old trams of Levon I and Hetoum-Zabel, which were heavier and of higher silver content.

II. The following were received palace by the above-mer					n th	e ir	nhal	oita	nts of the royal
One wallet from a woma	n na	amed	l Rit	a .					8 trams
Denarii ²⁸									300 trams
One hundred takvorins									77 trams
One skirt									15 trams
One shirt of cotton .									8 trams
One cushion (pillow) .									15 trams
One half-ounce of silk-flo									5 trams
One cloak of silk floss, to									24 trams
Two serviettes (towels)									2 trams
Two serviettes (towels) One cotton sheet									10 trams
One copper basin									10 trams
One copper basin One shirt and one cudge	1.			•	·	•		·	7 trams
Two hams	•			•	•		•	·	
Two shoulders of hog.	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	3 trams
I wo shoulders of hog .	•	• •	•	•	•		тот		
Also the following were	recei	ved	from	Ge	org				
Denarii									200 trams
One priest's vestment	•	• •	•	•	•	•	•	•	
One maniple (vestment)						•	•	•	15 trams
One cushion of silk-floss	•		•	•	•	•	•	•	5 trams
One Cushion of Shk-noss	obs	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	2 trams
One boy's flowered silk r									20 trams
Two hams									6 trams
Thirty silver	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	15 trams
One empty canvas sack									2 trams
One garment									6 trams
One coarse altar cloth									5 trams
One youth's shirt of silk	floss	5.	•	•	•	•	•	•	12 trams
One napkin (or towel) One silver crucifix	•		•	•	•	•	•	•	2 trams
One silver crucifix .	•		•	•	•				20 trams
One canvas sack	•		•	•	•	•	•	•	4 trams
One cotton canvas sack	•		•	•	•				6 trams
							TOT		
Also the following was re			rom	one	by	the	na	me	Tros Johaim:
Denarii				•					58 trams
One woman's black man	tle					•			50 trams
Two women's cloth shirts	S								50 trams
One cotton skirt									12 trams
One Cyprian skirt	•								20 trams
One sheet							•		8 trams
One horn crossbow .									50 trams
One boy's skirt of cendal									20 trams
3							тот	AL	268 trams
28 Apparently referring to a j	purs	e con	tain	ing	a su	m c	of no	n-A	
The original document of									-



Coinage of Cilician Armenia

Also the following was re above-mentioned galleys		ved	or 1	rob	bed	fro	m í	The	ros	Paidar b	y the
Denarii										260	trams
Two embroidered pillows	3									20	trams
One copper pan										10	trams
One chest half full of hor	rses	hoe	s								trams
1700 nails for shoeing ho	rses	;	_	_	_			_	_	_	trams
One knife for paring hoo	ves										trams
One iron bar					_			_			tram
One hammer											trams
	•	•		•	•	•		TOT			trams
								101	ΛL	331	liailis
Also the following was received from Stephen Casseri by the above-mentioned galleys:											
Two robes, one man's rol	be,	one	wo	ma	ın's					110	trams
Thirty brachias of cloth										90 1	trams
One Čyprian coverlet .											trams
One embroidered shirt											trams
								тот		•	trams
Also the following was re	ceiv	ved	fro	m	Greg	gori				, ,	
One embroidered silk pur										•	trams
Denarii in said purse .		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	_	trams
Four small basins	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	trams
Two gold rings	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	trams
One metal cap										•	trams
One casque											trams
One casque	•	•	•	•	•	•					
								TOT.	AL	189 1	trams
Concerning the debit of I	Mar	ini S	Sign	nuc	oli w	e ag	zre	e wi	ith		
Baron Ossino Bassiliensi										15000	trams
To Sir Bindo Sechamare										_	
Denarii		•						•	•	•	trams
					•			•			
Two sheets											
Two cotton skirts				•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
Two pieces of cotton .				•	•	•	•	•	•	• .	trams
Fifteen (canella) of gold				•	•	•	•	•	•	•	trams
One silver collar				•	•	•	•	•	•		trams
		•			•	•	•	•	•		trams
One sparrow-hawk from	tne	nes	st	•	•	•	•	•	•		trams
Three women's shirts.		· .	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	_	trams
One embroidered woman	SS	nırt	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		trams
Two shirts, one hose .	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		trams
Two shirts, two hose .		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		trams
Four napkins (or towels)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	10	trams



One wooden container	•		•	•	•		•		20 trams
One dagger One napkin (or towel)	•			•					20 trams
One napkin (or towel)	•		•	•	•		•		4 trams
One silver wand (or key	y) .		•		•				3 trams
One "matalacius"			•		•				8 trams
One woman's camelot g	garm	ent							50 trams
One camelot garment.	•						•		50 trams
Three caps	•			•		•	•		3 trams
Two knives									6 trams
One pair of boots									10 trams
One carpet One woman's skirt .	•			•		•			4 trams
									10 trams
One purse of samite .	•	•	•	•	•		•		2 trams
								TOTAL	1134 trams
From Bertucio by the a	how	m	ant	ion	od c	ralla	170		01
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·							-		
One sack								• •	4 trams
One warmer	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		10 trams
								TOTAL	14 trams
From Pisano, Count of	Arge	enta	ı:						
Denarii									141 trams
Two measures of buckra									19 trams
One napkin									3 trams
F	_		-	-	-	-		TOTAL	164 trams
F 1 1 1 1 4								TOTAL	104 (141113
From Lady Margaret:									
Denarii	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		100 trams
One Cyprian coverlet .	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		80 trams
One camelot garment. Three silver collars (or	•		•	•	•	•	•		50 trams
Three silver collars (or	neck	lace	es)	•	•	•	•		18 trams
One golden gorget . One measure of buckra	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		20 trams
One measure of buckra	m	٠	•	•					8 trams
Nine measures of mater	rial	•	•	•	•	•	•		36 trams
								TOTAL	312 trams
From Father Vasilli:									
Danasii									550 trams
One long cloak	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	• •	16 trams
One carpet	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	• •	10 trams
One carpet	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		
								TOTAL	576 trams
From Janna Zachii:									
From Janna Zachii: One hatchet (or battle	axe)		•		•				3 trams
=									3 trams
One hatchet (or battle				•					-
One hatchet (or battle one sword				•			•		10 trams



From Baron Ossino, Lord of Gaban, brother of the king representatives:	g through his
One measure of patterned material	21 trams 6 trams 5 trams
TOTAL	32 trams
From Herucho from his bank	
Trams	16 trams
One silver ring	4 trams
TOTAL	20 trams
From Constantio:	
Two doublets and a priest's shirt	34 trams
One cloak	25 trams
One carpet	16 trams
One cloak	16 trams
One shirt and one pair hose	10 trams
TOTAL	41 trams
These debts are noted later:	
Pantaleonus owes to one Squire Theroso Janni The aforesaid Theros has for this, one white coverlet, one woman's overgarment of camelot, one boy's shirt of purple cendal, one copper container, and one wooden container.	300 trams
Also Pantaleonus owes to one Squire Avertaza Also he owes to one by name Constantino Vassarabam,	30 trams
the bazaar chief for supplies	$77\frac{1}{2}$ trams
supplies	60 trams
SUM TOTAL OF THE DEBTS OF PANTALEONUS Sir Paulus Moroceno owes the aforementioned Messori	$467\frac{1}{2}$ trams
Hauranni for supplies	30 trams
and the Lord Marcie, owes the wife of Bonasere The aforementioned Marchus Guillelmo owes for a	1000 trams
golden buckle	200 trams
Also for four golden rings	100 trams
SUM TOTAL	300 trams



It was only after full reparations had been made that Levon III renewed the former privileges of the Venetians.

The Genoese and Venetians were not the only nations carrying on extensive trade in Armenia. As noted above, the Pisans were compensated for damages. The merchants of Montpellier were permitted to trade in 1314, upon payment of duties amounting to two per cent on imports. This privilege was renewed by Levon IV in 1321.²⁹ A similar privilege was granted to the Sicilians in 1333.²⁹ Earlier records also mention the Catalans and merchants from Marseille trading in Armenia.³⁰

The renewed privileges granted to the Venetians on March 1, 1321, mention that they had establishments in all the principal cities: Sis, Mamistra, Adana, Tarsus and Ayas.³¹ It was again stipulated that a duty was to be paid on precious metals imported by the Venetians if these metals were to be used for striking coins. The duty was at the same rate as paid in Acre. Furthermore, in this case, Levon wanted half the silver brought into the country for the royal mint. Levon needed this silver to strike takvorins in order to pay the heavy indemnities demanded by the Egyptians.³²

The increase in commercial activities on the one hand, and the deterioration of the political situation in Armenia on the other hand, caused a number of misunderstandings to arise between the Venetians and the Armenians, and strained their amicable relations. The Venetians complained of mistreatment, abuse of their privileges, and laxity of Armenian officials in protecting Venetian interests.³³ The Armenian king, Levon IV, was anxious to encourage commercial activities since they were his main source of income, and enabled him to pay the heavy tributes demanded by the Egyptians. It was not surprising, therefore, that full satisfaction was given to the demands of the Venetians and their privileges reaffirmed and extended. In a document of 1333³⁴ written in Latin which is given below in its English translation, we note the scope of activities of the Venetians.

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A Langlois, Cartulaire, pp. 185-190.
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³⁰ Langlois, Cartulaire, pp. 163-164.

¹¹ Langlois, Cartulaire, pp. 180-181; Mas Latrie, II. 118, 122.

³² Alishan, L'Armeno-Veneto, II, p. 11. Hay-Vened, p. 109.

¹³ Langlois, Cartulaire, pp. 191-192.

²⁴ Langlois, Cartulaire, pp. 193-194; Mas Latrie, III, p. 726.

In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Amen. Levon, by the grace of God and His help, King of all the Armenians, powerful and sublime descendant of the family of Roupen, son of Oshin, king of the Armenians, departed and resting under Christ. With respect to the petitions and requests of the great and glorious Doge, Sir Francis Dandolo, and the Venetian Commune, through the honorable mediary and faithful ambassador whom they have appointed to our royal majesty, to wit, Sir Jacob Trivisano, we grant these petitions to all Venetians and their descendants in addition to the rights and privileges which we have previously granted through a document sealed with the golden seal; in the same manner we allow and confirm these new grants to them which they have sought from our royal majesty.

I. That all Venetians of Venice and their descendants be allowed, with their goods, to enter into, remain in, and retire from our country, which

is guarded by God, without any harm or hurt.

II. That those Venetians and their descendants from Venetian territories, to wit, Crete, Black Sea, Coron, Modon, and their other territories, these, above mentioned should be treated in accordance with the constitution concerning their privileges.

III. That to those Venetians who manufacture garments of camel hair, and reside in our dominions, we extend to them the following privilege through our prerogative, that what they or their descendants produce be free of the royal jurisdictions concern their trades, and no one shall do them injury.

IV. That those Venetians who manage an establishment for the sale of wine in our dominions, shall no longer pay that tax which our officials receive from them, namely, one takvorin weekly; but if they shall not sell wine in the agreed upon measures and shall construct measures that are greater or smaller, our officials shall have the power to fine them according to the degree of the offense, but they shall bring no greater harm nor hurt against them.

V. That when Venetians should deal and transport wine or unfermented grape juice, that law has been rescinded whereby they pay one new tram per container; this law has been granted for we are most gracious to them.

VI. That what they gave under that law in the city of Tarsus for the import and export per load, and the traffic in tanned hides, shall be similar in the port of Tarsus, 35 for we are most gracious to them.

VII. That all Venetians of Venice and their descendants be able to buy and transport camel wool or other merchandise whatsoever outside of our dominions, in accordance with what we have granted to them in the other list of privileges.

VIII. That with respect to that law whereby they gave a measure of cloth per bale, they shall no longer do so for we are most gracious to them.

35 It is clear from this statement that the city of Tarsus at this time had a port separate from the city proper.



IX. That the Venetians should not be forced by our officials with respect to the purchase of grain and salt, nor anything else, nor shall they make them work by violent means.

X. If there be a theft of the goods of the Venetians and the thief be found out, he shall be hailed into our courts and imprisoned; the stolen goods shall be returned to their owner, but the thief shall remain to fulfill the punishment ordered by our court. If any of our people or subjects shall be a debtor to one of the Venetians, either through a debt proper or as a guarantor of a debt, he should free himself of his debt and repay when he will be able. Indeed, the above-mentioned Venetians shall be esteemed honored and safeguarded in person and property by our royal majesty and our officers, and as of now, and verily, no one shall have the power from our roval majesty to add to the privileges in respect to great or small matters, or to resist our decrees, but they shall remain firm and ratified in particular and in toto as we have decreed above without contradiction or resistance by anyone, and in confirmation of the above we affix and seal with the golden seal of our majesty. Granted in the year of our Lord 1333, and according to the reckoning of the Armenians, the year 782, tenth day of the month of November, under the chancellorship of the honorable Sir John.

LEVON, King of all the Armenians

In a last communication addressed to the Venetians in 1341,36 Levon IV disclosed that he had forced the Saracens living in Armenia to leave the country, and that the sultan of Egypt demanded payment of all debts owed to his subjects, holding Levon responsible for the debts of the Venetians also. Fearful of renewed invasions by the Mamluk sultan, Levon paid the Egyptians the sum of 27,000 takvorins. Of this sum, 16,000 takvorins were owed by the Venetians, and the balance by the Armenians.

It was during this latter part of the existence of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia that Francesco di Balducci Pegolotti, of the powerful Florentine banking house of Societas Bardorum, wrote extensively on the commercial activities of the Mediterranean countries including Cilician Armenia.

The chapter on Armenia gives a clear picture of commerce in Armenia and also of the currency used. It is reproduced here in its English translation.³⁷



³⁶ Langlois, Cartulaire, pp. 196-198.

³⁷ Pegolotti, pp. 59–63.

ARMENIA

Armenia by itself, that is to say, Ayas of Armenia, is where a great deal of trading takes place because it is on the sea, and merchants from many places reside there.

Pepper, ginger, sugar, cinnamon, incense, brazilwood, lac, cotton, and all gross spices, iron, copper and tin, are all sold in Ayas in ruotoli, one ruotoli being equal to 15 occhia, and 33 ruotolis to one catars of Armenia.³⁸

Silk and all fine spices are sold in occhia, 12 occhia being counted as one ruotoli, which is known as the market occhia.

Gold is sold by the pesi and 50 pesi is counted as one mars of Armenia.³⁹ Silver is sold by the mars which is equal to 50 pesi.

Skins are sold by a weight of marchio and 40 weights are needed to give an ara of skins.

All linen and textiles are sold by the hundred cannes, 40 and the prices are so many besants and denars, ten takvorins being one besant.

Soap, wool and camel hair are sold in ruotoli, one ruotoli being 15 occhias. Grain is sold in Ayas in Armenia in gross moggio⁴¹ and marzapanni, and also in subtle moggio and marzapanni, one moggio being 10 marzapanni.

Red silk is sold by the occhia which weighs 110 direms.

Oil is sold by the barrel as it is.

The Byzantine besant is counted 10 silver takvorins, the takvorin 10 denars of Armenia, and the denar, 4 poghs.

THE AMOUNT PAID BY THE ARMENIAN MINT FOR A MARS OF SILVER

Per mars of Sardesco, 114 takvorins and 1 denar.

For a piatta with the seal of Venice, 113 takvorins and 1 denar.

For a lega of Tornesi grossi, 111 takvorins.

For a lega of Gigliati, 110 takvorins and 5 denars.

For a Bracciali, that is to say, Buenmini, 110 takvorins and 2 denars.

For a sterling, 109 takvorins and 5 denars.

For a vergha with the seal of Genoa, 100 takvorins and 5 denars.

For a vergha with the seal of Venice, 109 takvorins and 5 denars.

The Raonesi silver of Sicily, 109 takvorins and 5 denars.

- ³⁸ We have left unchanged Pegolotti's spelling of weights and measures. The subtle pound of Venice was somewhat less than 320 grams (see Guilhiermoz, pp. 161–133, 402–450). On this basis, since one ruotoli was equal to 20.2 subtle pounds of Venice (see below), the weight of ruotoli was about 6460 grams and one catars of Armenia 213.180 kilograms. The occhia at 1/15 of a ruotoli was about 430 grams.
- ³⁹ One marc of Venice (see Guilhiermoz p. 447) was about 240 grams. Since 100 marc of silver of Venice was equal to 106.5 marc of silver of Armenia, the Armenian silver marc was about 225 grams and the pesi about 4.5 grams.
- 40 Alishan, Sissouan p. 377 gives the length of a canne as being equal to 2.15 meters.
- ⁴¹ Again Alishan gives a figure of 129.407 liters for a moggio.



The Armenian mint strikes a silver coin which is called takvorin (taccolini), which contains 8 fine ounces of silver per pound, and 91 takvorins are counted per marchio.

DUTIES PAID ON SALE OF GOODS IN ARMENIA

The Genoese and the Venetians are free of duty, as are the Sicilians, who pay nothing on goods brought in or taken out, with the exception of the mars which is weighed, and they pay one per cent of the weight.

The Compagnia de Bardi is free, and pays nothing throughout the kingdom, neither on bringing in nor on taking out goods, without trouble or limitations. The Florentines or any other persons of whatever language or city, cannot raise an opposition to the Compagnia except when the fault is with the company. Supporting this, there is a privilege, with the golden seal of the king of the Armenians, granted in Armenia on the tenth day of the month of January, in the year of our Savior, 1335.

This privilege for the Compagnia, Francesco Balducci succeeded in receiving, having come to Cyprus in the service of the Compagnia.

The Pisans pay 2 per cent of the value of the goods exported or imported. The Compagnia de' Peruzzi of Florenze, the Catalans, and the Provencals pay 2 per cent on imports and exports.

All others pay 4 per cent on imports and exports.

COMPARISON OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES OF ARMENIA WITH THOSE OF OTHER COUNTRIES. AND PRIMARILY WITH VENICE

One ruotoli of spices of Armenia is exchanged with 20 subtle pounds and 3.25 ounces of Venice. 49 ruotoli of cotton in Armenia are equal to 9 subtle pounds of Venice. One occhia of silk or fine spices of Armenia is the equivalent of 1 subtle pound and 4 ounces of Venice. Gross thousand measure (migliaio) of Venice is 76 or 78 ruotoli in Armenia, or 20.5 catars of Armenia. 100 mars of silver of Venice is 106.5 mars of Armenia. 315 Venetian braccia of textile equal 100 canne of Armenia. 11 subtle pounds of Venice are equal to 10 pounds of Ayas in Armenia.

Transportation costs of materials brought to Armenia from Venice or to Venice from Armenia, in ships of the Commune of Venice, are at the rates given below: For gross textiles and linens, on a bale of 350 peso grosso of Venice, the charge is 6 silver soldi grossi of Venice. For fine textiles and linens, the charge is 6 soldi grossi for a bale weighing 260 pounds grosso of Venice. Copper, tin, and iron—6 soldi grossi for a migliajo grosso of Venice. Silver—one per cent.

Spun gold or spun silver, or similar articles—3 per cent per case. All spices—13 soldi grossi for a subtle migliajo. Cotton—13 soldi grossi per subtle migliajo.

Camel hair—two per cent in an armed galley and 1.5 per cent in a merchant ship.

Sugar—10 soldi grossi per subtle migliajo.



WITH GENOA

One ruotoli of spices in Armenia is equal to 20 Genoese pounds. Five pounds of silver of Genoese weight is equal in Armenia to 5 mars. 7.5 ruotoli of Armenia is equal to a Genoese catar.

Pegolotti gives similar comparative values with various cities and countries, including Nimes, Montpellier, Majorca, Seville in Spain, Bruges in Flanders, London, Apulia, Messina in Sicily, Sivas in Turkey, Accre, Famagusta in Cyprus, etc.

The amount of trade transacted was considerable. In the year 1312, the Venetian bail at Ayas wrote that 27 or 28 Venetian merchants carried out business amounting to 400,000 new trams.⁴²

In 1323, the Sultan of Egypt captured and destroyed Ayas. He then permitted its reconstruction, provided the Armenians paid an annual indemnity of 1,200,000 takvorins, with an additional 100,000 from Ayas.⁴³ The fact that the Armenians were able to pay such a heavy indemnity can be attributed directly to the revenues derived from Ayas and other ports.

After the destruction of the Crusader principalities, the Egyptians continued relentlessly their attacks against the Armenian kingdom. Ayas had already been pillaged twice as early as 1266 and 1275. It was captured again, and destroyed in 1322 by Nasir Mohammed of Egypt. During the ensuing peace, the port was rebuilt, but the Sultan would not permit the reconstruction of the sea fort which protected the city. The city was captured again and destroyed in 1337. This time, the Egyptians would not even permit the rebuilding of the walls of the city, thus leaving it to the mercy of the enemy. Finally, in 1347, the city was taken over by the Mamluks and thereafter remained in the hands of the enemy. After this date, the Armenian kingdom was cut off from the sea and became land-locked territory. The enormous trade carried on for nearly two centuries ended, and the seaports of Cilicia ceased to be of any importance in international commerce.



⁴² Alishan, Sissouan, p. 386.

⁴³ Alishan, Sissouan, p. 390.

ARMENIAN TERMS USED FOR VARIOUS COINS

The coinage of the Roupenian period has been best covered in works by Langlois, Alishan, Basmadjian and Sibilian. The first three authors dwelt at some length on the names given to Armenian coins, but unfortunately they chose to list the names given to gold, silver and copper coins of ancient times, thereby leading the reader to believe that these names also applied to Roupenian coins. Much confusion has resulted from this and an attempt will be made here to clarify the picture.

The following tabulation lists the names given to gold, silver and copper coins by the authors mentioned above:

Gold Coins	Silver Coins	Copper Coins	Uncertain
Tenar ^{1, 3}	Silver tahegan ^{1, 3}	Tank ^{1, 2}	Taccolini ¹
Byzant ^{1, 3}	Tahegan sbidag ³	Kardez ^{2, 3}	Bissancios
Tahegan ^{1, 2, 3}	Tram ^{1, 2, 3}	Tenar ^{2, 3}	stauratos ²
Rouge ^{1, 2}	Old tram³	Half-tram³	
Bysantii	New tram ^{2, 3}	Pogh ^{1, 3, 4}	
stauratii ³	Half-tram³	-	
Bissancio	Double tram ³		
sarracinati	Byssantii		
d'Armenie ³	stauratii ¹		
Gold pool ³	Staurat ³		

GOLD COINS. As mentioned in the previous section, the Roupenians probably did not issue gold coins for circulation but merely struck a small number of these for distribution on special occasions. The names given to the gold coins, therefore, could not refer to the few gold pieces struck by the Roupenians.



¹ Langlois, Num. de l'Arménie au Moyen Age, Paris, 1855, pp. 9-15.

² Alishan, Sissouan, pp. 378-386.

² Basmadjian, *Num. Générale de l'Arménie* (in Armenian), pp. 134–135, Venice 1936.

⁴ Sibilian, Classification of Roupenian Coins, Vienna, 1892.

TENAR (δηνάριον, Ήτιι), denarius) was the name usually given to silver coins in ancient times. The word δηνάριον was translated from the Bible as tenar or tahegan, and numerous instances of the use of both tenar and tahegan are listed by Avkerian. On one occasion, tahegan, vosgi (gold) and tenar were used interchangeably.

BYZANT (FPRILLY, besant) was the name commonly used in the coinage of the East during the Middle Ages. When accompanied by the word gold, it denoted the gold coins of the Arabs or Byzantium. The notarial acts of Ayas⁶ contain numerous references to instances where besants of various types were used in commercial transactions. For example, "bissantios quadraginta duos sarracinales ad iustum pondus Syrie," "bissantios ducentos veteres auri Babilonie bones, et legales, atque iusti ponderis ad generale pondus terre Egypti," "bissantios centum duodecim et dimidium sarracinales Acconis ad generale pondus Acconis" or "bissantios quadragintos quinquaginta Tripolitos."

TAHEGAN (δηναριον, ΝΙζΕΝΙΙΕ, denarius) was a measure of weight as well as the name of a silver coin. Shiragatzi, writing in the seventh century, states that tahegan was the name given to a silver or gold coin, and lists numerous references of early times where it denoted either gold or silver coins. In more recent times (A.D. 972), Matthew of Edessa mentions that "Arab gold of 30,000 tahegans was taken out of Baghdad" or "40,000 tahegans of Arab gold."

ROUGE (garmir, 4UPUPP) of course refers to the color of the coin, indicating that it was gold. Thus, Smpad⁸ mentions that 500 garmir was paid for the assassination of Mawdūd. It is interesting to note that in his description of the same event (in the year 1113) Matthew of Edessa⁷ states that 500 tahegans were paid. Vartan⁹ mentions that the sultan of Egypt, Baybars I al-Bundukdāri, invaded Cilicia and finding the Armenians unprepared, captured and sacked the city of Sis. The Egyptians located the royal treasury and found a container which had 600,000 garmir. Unfortunately, Vartan does not make clear the type of gold coin he had in mind. In any case, it represented a

⁶ Desimoni, pp. 434–534.

9 Vartan, p. 161.



⁵ Avkerian, pp. 71–74.

⁷ Matthew of Edessa, 1869, pp. 9, 26, 181, 363, 410.

⁸ Smpad, p. 141 (1956 Edition of Venice).

huge sum for those days. Samuel of Ani¹⁰ speaks of 1000 tahegan garmir which Ayyūb, the father of Saladin, said his son will give to the man for predicting the birth of a male child. In the chronicles attached to the Psalter of King Oshin of Cilician Armenia,¹¹ it is mentioned that in the year 1260, the Turkomans captured the lord of Beirut and sold him for 20,000 garmir. This event has also been reported by another source.¹² It is thus seen that the term "garmir" was used for a particular gold coin which the writer had in mind, and in all of the cases mentioned above, it referred to a foreign gold coin. Not a single reference has been found in contemporary literature using the word garmir for a Roupenian coin.

BYSANTII STAURATII will be discussed under silver coins.

BISSANCIO SARRACINATI D'ARMENIE. The numerous notarial acts of the Armenian port of Ayas⁶ make frequent mention of this coin, along with the bissancio sarracinati of Acre, Tripoli, Syria, Egypt, etc. Since these acts speak of transactions involving hundreds and often thousands of "bissancio sarracinati d'Armenie," it would seem that they are gold coins of the type issued by the Crusaders in the East. In all likelihood, some of the gold coins ascribed to the Crusaders were struck in Armenia by the Venetians, as indicated in the privileges granted by the Armenian kings in the years 1201, 1245, 1271 and 1307, giving the Venetians the right to issue coins on the same terms as they enjoyed in their coinage in Acre. As reported by Schlumberger¹³ Sibilian held a similar opinion. Unfortunately, it has not yet been possible to find a means of identifying the gold bissancio sarracinati coins of Armenia and differentiating them from the other gold coins in pseudo-cufic writing struck by the Crusaders in several eastern cities. The notarial acts of Ayas indicate that the value of the Armenian sarracinat besant was in 1274 ten sous or half a Genoese pound, and in 1279, nine and a half sous. Since these besants were of an entirely different type and struck by the Venetians, they are considered outside of the scope of this work.

GOLD POOL (Vosgi pool, NU4P FNPL) is listed by Basmadjian as one of the names given to gold coins. It is probably a name given to



¹⁰ Samuel of Ani, R.H.C. Documents Arméniens, I, p. 453.

¹¹ Surmeyian, p. 98.

¹² Hagopyan, vol. I, p. 82, vol. II, p. 71.

¹³ Schlumberger, Archives de l'Orient Latin, p. 677.

certain gold coins, but unfortunately Basmadjian does not give the source of his information.

SILVER COINS. These are of far greater importance than the gold or even the copper coins, since they constituted the backbone of national and international trade.

SILVER TAHEGAN OF TENAR (Greek: δηνάριον, Latin: denarius). This name was employed since antiquity for the silver coins currently in use. As mentioned above, Anania Shiragatzi,⁵ writing in the 7th century, said that tahegan and tenar were identical and were used either as a measure of weight or a measure of coinage. Although they sometimes denoted gold coins, especially when written as gold tahegan or gold tenar, they were much more often used for silver coins. In Biblical translations, the Greek δηναριον is always translated as tahegan, and occasionally the word tenar was used interchangeably with tahegan. During the time of the Crusaders and before the establishment of the coinage of Cilician Armenia, tahegan was used for dinars. Thus, Matthew of Edessa⁷ said that through the intervention of Kogh Vasil, the Armenian prince, the release of Bohemond was made possible by payment of the sum of 100,000 tahegans to the Danishmends. This sum is given as 100,000 dinars by Albert D'Aix, 14 as besants by Runciman, 15 pièces d'or by Grousset, 16 and michelots (gold coins of Michael VII Ducas of Byzantium) by Blancard.¹⁷ In another instance, Baldwin's release was obtained for the sum of 30,000 tahegans.¹⁸ Another writer¹⁹ gives the figure as as 30,000 dinars. Vartan²⁰ wrote that when Saladdin captured Jerusalem, he permitted each man to buy his freedom for the sum of 10 tahegans and each woman, five tahegans. Smpad, in his Chronicle²¹ stated that every inhabitant wishing to leave was to pay one Egyptian tahegan, and those who wished to remain were assessed one red tahegan. Runciman²² gives the figures as ten dinars for a man, five for

- ¹⁴ Albert D'Aix, pp. 33-36, 610-612.
- ¹⁵ Runciman, Vol. II, p. 38.
- ¹⁶ Grousset, Vol. I, p. 398.
- 17 Blancard, pp. 151-194.
- ¹⁸ The Royal Chronicle, p. 172.
- ¹⁹ Bar Hebraeus, I, p. 243.
- ²⁰ Vartan, History, p. 135.
- ²¹ Smpad, Venice 1956, pp. 199–200.
- ²² Runciman, Vol. II, p. 465.



a woman and one for a child, while Grousset²³ quoting Eracles²⁴ states that the amount to be paid was ten besants per man, five per woman, and one per child. Ibn al-Athīr²⁵ gives the figures in dinars—ten for men, five for women, and two for children, while an Armenian source mentions ten tahegans for men and five for women.^{25a}

In Hagopyan's Minor Chronicle²⁶ the word "tahegan" occurs in six places, apparently referring to silver coins in circulation at different periods, and in at least one instance, three different documents speak of the same transaction using either the terms tahegan or tram.²⁷

It would therefore appear that tahegan was the name given to silver coins in general rather than to the silver Roupenian coins. The latter were most likely known as trams.

TAHEGAN SBIDAG or SBIDAG. Sbidag means white, and tahegan sbidag may have been a silver tahegan, as differentiated from tahegan vosgi (gold). Sometimes one of the words was omitted, and prices would be given in terms of tahegan, vosgi or sbidag (the latter often abbreviated as sdag. or sb.). In the years 1256–1260, tahegan, tram and sbidag were used by the same writer indiscriminately,²⁸ all apparently denoting the same type of silver coin. Even earlier, in 1224, the word sbidag was used for a silver coin.²⁹ In Khachigyan's³⁰ Fourteenth Century Colophons, the word sbidag is mentioned no less than twelve times, generally for coinage other than Roupenian. Nevertheless, this term came into more common use in later periods and appeared frequently in fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth century writings, to denote the silver coinage of the writer's particular locality, be it Greater Armenia, Asia Minor or the Crimea.³¹

TRAM (Greek δραχμή, Latin drachma) was another word used for silver coins, often interchangeably with tahegan or sbidag. It is

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<sup>23</sup> Grousset, Vol. II, p. 813.
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²⁴ Eracles, II, p. 91.

²⁵ Ibn al-Athir, p. 701.

²⁵a Khachigyan, p. 135.

²⁶ Hagopyan, pp. 3, 135, 143, 346, 381, 398.

²⁷ Hagopyan, p. 143.

²⁸ Hagopyan, pp. 142–143.

²⁹ Karekin I. Catholicos, p. 838.

³⁰ Khachigyan, p. 811.

¹¹ Hagopyan, pp. 463, 476, 497, 528, 570, 577.

noteworthy that the word tram was used more often during the Roupenian period in manuscripts written in Cilicia. However, Vartan³² speaks of the payment of a sum of 300,000 trams in the year 1045. In Khachigyan's Fourteenth Century Colophons, tram is mentioned on nine occasions. It is significant that Levon's payment of tribute to Nasir is described as 600,000 trams rather than as tahegans or sbidags.³³

NEW TRAMS (daremos novos) and OLD TRAMS (daremos vetere) were mentioned on numerous occasions by Genoese notaries in 1274–1279. The fact that these words were used to refer to coins in circulation supports the belief that the Roupenian silver coins were called trams. The earlier coins of Levon I and Hetoum I, being heavier and having a higher silver content, were worth more and were known as daremos vetere as differentiated from the coinage of Levon II which had a lesser silver content.

HALF TRAMS (440 37000) were coins having half the weight and half the value of trams.

DOUBLE TRAMS (bf47fW) were issued only by Levon I and had twice the weight and value of the trams.

BYSANTII STAURATI or STAURATS have been discussed at some length in a later chapter. The word, staurat, meaning cross, referred to the prominent cross on the silver coins of Levon I and Hetoum I. The Bysantii staurati, therefore, were the silver besants or trams of these two kings.³⁴

TAKVORINS (PUPNIMPE) were the debased silver coins issued during the latter part of the Roupenian dynasty and will be discussed in the next chapter.

COPPER COINS—TANK, TENAR OF KARDEZ, and POGH. These coins are described later in greater detail.

TANK (οβολος, obolus, *MLV*) in ancient times was a measure of weight as well as the name of a coin. Shiragatzi⁵ states that six tanks were equal to one tram. The word tank often appears in the Armenian translation of the Bible. There were both silver and gold tanks.

TENAR or KARDEZ apparently referred to the medium-sized copper Roupenian coin. Although the tenar or denar was usually the silver



³² Vartan, History, p. 101.

³³ Khachigyan, p. 295.

³⁴ Bedoukian, *Handes Amsorya*, LXXIII, 1959, pp. 241-249.

coin, it also denoted a copper coin. Thus, Pegolotti³⁵ states clearly that one Taccolini (takvorin), was worth ten denars. Therefore, the denar which he mentions was the copper coin used in Armenia around 1340. References dated about 1260 use the word kardez for the copper coins.³⁶

POGH (φ ollis, φ / Ω) was used in ancient times as a general name for small copper coins. When Pegolotti³⁵ stated that one denar was worth four folli, he may have meant that one large copper coin was equal in value to four small coppers of Oshin, Levon IV or Levon V.



²⁵ Pegolotti, pp. 59–60.

Assises d'Antioche, p. 61.

THE COINAGE OF THE ROUPENIANS

The Armenian dynasty in Cilicia issued literally millions of silver and copper coins, of which about twelve thousand can now be found in museums and private collections. In addition, ten gold coins are in existence and are mentioned in the corpus. There are also records of seven others which have been lost or destroyed.

The different types of coins struck during this period are as follows: GOLD COINS (Vosgi, NU4P). The ten gold coins in existence today are of a type similar to the silver coins of this dynasty. For want of a better name, they are simply called vosgi, or gold. Certain peculiarities in design and uncommon variations in weight, coupled with the fact that so few have survived, have led the writer to believe that these were not struck for circulation but rather as gifts which were distributed on special occasions.

SILVER COINS. Approximately two thirds of the Roupenian coins which have survived are in silver, and these constitute the most important and interesting portion of the coinage of this period.

The silver coins can be conveniently divided into several classes:

Double tram (Yergtram), & PYTPUUT

Half double tram (Guess yergtram) Y & V & PYTPUUT

Quarter double tram (Karort yergtram) & WITTPUT & PYTPUUT

Coronation tram (Odzman tram) OUVUL TPUUT

Bilingual tram and half-tram issued by Hetoum I

Trans or Old trans 2000 also known as "becant stayret" issued

Tram or Old tram, 'FUU', also known as "besant staurat" issued by Levon I and Hetoum I

Half-tram (Guess tram), 44ูป ԴՐԱՄ

New tram (Nor tram), LAP TRUE issued by Levon II

Takvorin (PUPNPPL) silver coinage of all kings after Levon II

Billon—struck by Levon I in Antioch (bearing Latin characters), and the small coins issued by Hetoum II.

The double tram and its smaller denominations constitute a distinct class which is different from the usual coinage of Levon I. These coins



are comparatively rare and were issued for a short time only, probably in Tarsus. The above names were given in order to distinguish them from trams or half-trams, although the half double tram is actually a tram, and the quarter, a half-tram.

The coronation tram is unique in its design since it is the only coin depicting the coronation of a monarch. It is noteworthy that no half-trams of this type have been found as yet.

The bilingual trams of Hetoum I are rather rare and on one side have an Arabic inscription in recognition of the nominal suzerainty of the Seljuk sultans of Konya.¹ Bilingual half-trams are very rare.

The trams of Levon I and Hetoum I are the commonest types of coins of the Roupenian dynasty. Over half of the silver coins in existence belong to this class. A cursory examination of trams will show that there is a dominant cross on one side of the coin. In coins struck by Levon I, the cross is flanked by two lions rampant regardant, while coins of Hetoum I show the cross held by the king and queen.

It is not surprising that contemporary writers referred to the tram as "besant staurat" or the besant with a cross, and also "daremos vetere" or old tram, thus differentiating it from the later silver coins of less value. A document listing commercial privileges granted to the Genoese by Levon II in 1288 discloses² that the duty for exporting a horse or a mule was four — — which was translated in the contemporary Latin text as "bissancios stauratos," a donkey—five new trams, an ox—three new trams and one kardez, a sheep—four kardez. The document also explains that the duty for pepper, ginger and other spices is determined by the weight carried by the animal. The duty for a mule load is given as nineteen new trams, and for a donkey load, sixteen new trams, thereby establishing a degree of relative values for mules and donkeys. Obviously, four staurats were worth somewhat more than five new trams. It will be seen below that the silver content of four trams or staurats of Levon I and Hetoum I was slightly higher than that of five new trams around 1288. One can therefore reasonably assume that the "besant staurat" was the tram of Levon I and Hetoum I.3



¹ Bedoukian, ANS Museum Notes VII, 1957, pp. 219-230. Pl. XXX.

² Langlois, Cartulaire, p. 154.

³ Bedoukian, Handes Amsorya, LXXIII, 1959, pp. 241-249.

Numismatists have long been puzzled and misled by the marriage contract of the daughter of Hetoum I, Euphemia, to Julian, the Lord of Sidon, in 1252.4 In this contract, it was stipulated that Hetoum would give a dowry of twenty-five thousand "besans sarrazinas au pois d'Acre," of which the king was to pay seventeen thousand "besans sarrazinas al pois d'Acre, ce que nos aurons e so qui remendra chascun besans a sa valor, so e aire qui quatre besans de nos staurat por un besant sarrazinas." Here it is made clear that one gold besant of Acre was to be considered equal to four of the king's staurats. The Acre besant weighed about three grams and contained about 65 per cent gold or two grams of gold. Since the relative value of gold to silver was about ten to one in those days, it is apparent that the gold besant was equal to about twenty grams of silver. The silver trams of Hetoum I contained about 2.5 grams of silver. Hence, it would take eight (not four) staurats to equal a gold besant. This irregularity has led both Langlois⁷ and Alishan⁸ to suppose that the staurat was a coin as yet undiscovered, or a very large silver coin. It is the opinion of the writer that a mistake may have been made in copying the original document (all efforts to obtain a photostat copy of this document have failed), or that Hetoum, having promised a dowry of 25,000 gold pieces, had stipulated that part of this sum was to be paid at the rate of four staurats per gold of Acre. It is obvious that the "besant staurat" was a very common silver coin used in large numbers, and the only such coin issued by Hetoum was the common tram.

Such arrangements were not uncommon and it is not necessary to assume that they indicated an international rate of exchange. It is also interesting to note that the tram of Levon I and Hetoum I is often called "daremos vetere" as distinct from the new tram "daremos novos" of Levon II.

- ⁴ Langlois, Carulaire, p. 146.
- ⁵ An Acre besant of the type Schlumberger, Pl. V, No. 24, was given to public analysts. It assayed sixty-five per cent gold in content. It is interesting that the same gold percentage was obtained by taking the specific gravity of this coin and assuming that the metal was a mixture of gold and silver.
- ⁶ Desimoni, p. 438, Vol. I.
- ⁷ Langlois, Numismatique de l'Arménie au moyen âge, pp. 12-13.
- ⁸ Alishan, Sissouan, pp. 382-383. See also Desimoni, p. 526, LXI.
- Desimoni cites numerous instances where the terms daremos vetere, daremos novos and bissancios stauratos are mentioned in commercial transactions.



The half-trams were half the weight and value of the trams and were similar in design and type. While many trams are of barbaric style, indicating that they were manufactured carelessly under pressure, the half-trams are usually of good design and workmanship. These coins were not made in any quantity and few have survived. The half-trams are therefore quite scarce.

The new tram was obviously a coin of Levon II (1270-1289) since it is frequently mentioned in documents written during his reign. There is also historical evidence indicating the gradual debasement of this coin, and this is matched by metrological data obtained by the author.

We thus find that in 1273, eight new trams were the equivalent of one sarrasin besant. In 1279 (May 10), it took nine new trams to equal one sarrasin besant, whereas in 1284 the accepted rate was ten new trams.⁸

Other records indicate the international value of the new trams. According to a Genoese notarial act of 1274,¹⁰ 177 new trams were counted as being equal to 10 Genoese livres or 200 sous. In an earlier record (about 1260), when the Assisses d'Antioche was translated,¹¹ 44 new trams were considered equal to 36 sous. The latter were probably the coins of the Crusaders.

The continued debasement of the new trams is evidenced by the fact that in 1289 ten new trams were worth 35 Venetian soldi, the latter sum being the equivalent of one "bissancio saracinato," and in 1313–1316, it took twelve new trams to equal this amount.¹²

A few other available records throw light on the value of Armenian coins of this period. In 1299–1300, 100 new trams were equal in value to 27 besants of Cyprus.¹³ In 1307, in a settlement for damages, 77 new trams were listed as being equivalent to 100 takvorins.¹⁴

Examination of the weight and silver content of various new trams of Levon II bears out a debasement which accounted for the reduction of their value on the international market.

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<sup>10</sup> Desimoni, p. 456, XXIII.
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¹¹ Assises d'Antioche, p. 28.

¹² Alishan, Armeno-Veneto, II, p. 53.

¹³ Alishan, Sissouan, p. 383 (No source reference given).

¹⁴ Langlois, Cartulaire, p. 171.

It is curious that although Levon II reigned for nineteen years, his coins are relatively scarce. A possible explanation may be that the wide variations in the silver content made transactions difficult, and that most of his silvers were eventually melted to make the more uniform coins of his successors.

The takvorins (literally translated as "belonging to the king") were the coins of Levon III, Oshin, Levon IV, and the three Gosdantins. These coins were gradually debased, until finally the percentage of silver was reduced to less than 50 per cent, and the weight of the coins reduced from three to two grams. As a result, the takvorins of the Gosdantins were actually worth considerably less than half of the trams of Levon I or Hetoum I.

Contemporary writings give numerous instances where takvorins (taccolini) were used in commercial transactions. As mentioned above, in 1307, 100 takvorins were declared to be worth 77 new trams. In 1223, the Egyptians exacted a tribute of 1,200,000 takvorins annually from the Armenian king. According to Pope John XXII, this was equal to 50,000 florins. In 1333 (June 17), a communication from the Doge of Venice stated that 24 takvorins were to be regarded as equal to a gold ducat. In the same year, 12 grossis of Venice were worth 13 takvorins, which in turn were equal to 2 "bissancios albos" of Cyprus. In 1313 (Cyprus. In 1313)

In 1340-1342, Pegolotti¹⁸ wrote that "Il bisante de Romania si conta X taccolini d'argento; il taccolini vale den. X de Erminia, e il denaro valle IV folleri." He further states that the Armenian royal mint struck coins made of an alloy containing eight ounces of silver per pound, and that 91 taccolinis were made from a marc (226.26gms.) of alloy. This composition was verified by metrological data obtained by the author.

Billons were struck on two special occasions. The first billon was struck by Levon I in Antioch, in Latin characters, to commemorate his capture of the city. The coin is very similar in appearance to the contemporary Crusader coins of Antioch. The other coin was struck by Hetoum II who issued no silver coins.

- ¹⁵ Alishan, Sissouan, p. 384 (No source reference given).
- ¹⁶ Alishan, Armeno-Veneto, II, p. 107.
- ¹⁷ Alishan, Armeno-Veneto, II, p. 102.
- ¹⁸ Pegolotti, pp. 59-60.



A detailed examination of the names, weights and titre of the silver coins is given in the section under metrology.

COPPER COINS. Apparently, three types of copper coins were struck by the Roupenians:

Tank (HUS) Large copper coins struck by Levon I and Hetoum I. Tenar or Kardez (HUS) Medium-sized copper coins of Hetoum I, Levon II, Hetoum II, Smpad and Levon III.

Pogh (4172) The small copper coins of Oshin, Levon IV, Guy, Gosdantin III and later kings.

Sibilian expresses the opinion that all of the copper coins were called Pogh, even though there was a gradual decrease in their size and weight. He states that no half or quarter poghs were issued, but offers no proof in support of this statement. In a document dated 1288,² there are several instances where various sums are given in new trams and *P., the latter obviously being an abbreviation of kardez, the name given to the copper coins in circulation at that time.

In the "Assises d'Antioche" the word kardez (PUPSLA) is written out in full in Armenian. It is stated that one sol was equal to 12 kardez, and 36 sols to 44 new trams, thus making a new tram equal to about 9.5 kardez at that time. Since the "Assises d'Antioche" was written around 1260, the relative values refer to that period. This would indicate that an old tram was probably worth 12 kardez, and since the tank weighed twice as much as a kardez, it was twice as valuable, and six tanks were most likely worth one old tram. Pegolloti, writing in 1340, mentions that one takvorin was worth ten denars, and one denar was worth four folli. A denar was the Latin term for kardez, and folli, for poghs.

We have chosen the name tank for the large copper coins of Levon I and Hetoum I. It is unfortunate that no documents have been found of that period which use the word tank for the large copper coins. However, in previous periods, tank was a name commonly given to copper coins, and six tanks were worth a silver coin. 20 As noted above, six large copper coins were equal in value to one old tram of Levon I or Hetoum I. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that they were called tanks.



¹⁹ Assises d'Antioche, pp. 60-61.

²⁰ Avkerian, p. 77.

²¹ Alishan, Sissouan, p. 370. Also in Langlois, Cartulaire, pp. 170-175.

DESIGN AND STYLE OF COINS

The designs of the coins issued by the Roupenians exhibit so many variations that one is inevitably led to speculate on their origin.

LEVON I. On the obverse of all the silver coins of Levon I (with the exception of the coronation coins), the king is seated on a throne ornamented with lions heads. He wears a crown and a royal mantle on his shoulders, usually has a cross in his right hand and a fleur de lys in his left. On most of the coins, the king's feet rest on a footstool.

Langlois¹ calls this design an imitation of the coins of "carlins d'Anjou" and of "blancs d'argent de Chypre," but there is little similarity between the coins of Levon I and the Anjou silver coins, and the Cyprus silver coins referred to were all issued much later.²

In a lengthy study, Garabetian³ points out that the royal seal of Louis VI (1108–1137)⁴ bears a marked resemblance to the obverse of the coins of Levon I. There are earlier seals of French kings where the king is seated on a throne, holding a cross or lily in the right hand, and an orb in the left hand. Garabetian concludes erroneously that although such a design had appeared previously on royal seals, it was first used on coins by Levon I.

Alishan⁵ approached the truth when he stated that this design differed from the Byzantine and Near Eastern coin types, but resembled German types. This thesis was developed further in an article by Smith⁶ who points out that Levon's promotion from prince to king came through the German emperor, Henry VI, and speculates on the possibility that the die on the obverse was a German design. The similarity of this design to that of the bracteates of Augsburg



¹ Langlois, Num. de l'Arménie au moyen âge, p. 41.

² Schlumberger, Num. de l'Orient Latin, Pl. VII.

³ Garabetian, Hask Annuaire, 1949–50, p. 272.

⁴ Petit, pp. 193, 210.

⁵ Alishan, Sissouan, p. 279.

⁶ Smith, pp. 423–427.

was also brought out. There is little doubt that the obverse of Levon's trams was patterned after contemporary bracteates in circulation during the reign of Henry VI. Mertens' publication⁷ contains reproductions of the bracteates of Henry VI (whose liege Levon was), which are very similar to the obverse of the trams of Levon I.

Historically, all this is in agreement with recorded events. Levon had asked Frederick Barbarossa for the crown and had obtained his consent. After Frederick's death, the promise was fulfilled by his successor, Emperor Henry VI. Levon thus became nominally a vassal of Henry and it was perhaps in gratitude that he placed the Emperor's coin design on his trams. The design was in general use in Germany during this period and even earlier.8

On the obverse of the few coronation coins, we find Christ standing, and the king, wearing the royal mantle, is kneeling with the crown on his head. Between the head of Christ and the king there is sometimes a ray of light descending from the sky, or the figure of a dove, and occasionally an arm or hand extended toward the king's crown. Langlois, Sibilian and Alishan mention that this design was copied from the coins of the Venetian Doges. However, Venetian coins of this type were apparently first struck by Dandolo XLVIII in 1280 to 1289, almost ninety years after the coronation of Levon I. The derivation of the design of Levon's coronation coins must therefore be sought elsewhere.

There are a number of well-known types of Byzantine coins on which Christ is seen crowning the standing emperor.¹³ Possibly, the coronation coins may be considered modifications of the Byzantine types, but the Armenian types present sufficient differences in design to be considered original.

The reverse of most of the trams of Levon I has a very unusual design—a cross between two lions rampant regardant. Langlois' suggestion that such designs appeared on Mohammedan articles such as

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<sup>7</sup> Mertens, Pl. VIII, XII.
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⁹ Buchenau, Pl. 24, No. 20 (541, 542).

Langlois, Num. de l'Arménie au moyen âge, p. 38.

¹⁰ Sibilian, Classification of Roupenian Coins, p. 8.

¹¹ Corpus Nummorum Italicorum, Vol. VI, VII, p. 27, Pl. 1, 23.

¹² Marco, Coinage of Venice.

¹³ Sabatier, p. 126, Pl. XLVI, 10; p. 169, Pl. L, 11, etc.

mirrors and served as models for Levon's coins must be rejected since the designs to which he refers are mythical figures bearing little or no resemblance to the lions found on the coins.¹⁴ Neither Sibilian nor Alishan comment on the origin of the design of the two lions, and Garabetian's lengthy article¹⁵ does not shed any light on this problem.

Since this design seems to have appeared for the first time on Armenian coins, one is perhaps justified in stating that it was an original contribution to numismatic art.

The lion, in its multitudinous forms, has been in widespread use in the Near East since antiquity. In the famous ruins of Persepolis dating 500–300 B.C., ¹⁶ one finds lions walking, standing up against figures of men, walking and facing, etc. On numerous textiles of the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., there are lions seated with the tree of life between them, and lions standing and facing the tree of life, etc.

The idea of using lion motifs was adopted by the Moslems and eventually spread to Europe. The mantle of Roger II of Sicily (1133) was decorated with two lions attacking camels, with the tree of life between them. Lions standing and facing are also seen in a Seljuk silk fabric of the 12th century.¹⁷

Von Falke¹⁸ traces the development of designs on fabrics from earliest times. Many of the lion motifs shown in illustrations dating from the fifth to seventh centuries bear a close resemblance to the lions on the coins of Levon. In all cases the lions flank the tree of life rather than the cross as in the case of Levon's lions.

It should be recalled that the lion was native to southern Armenia and was hunted by the nobility. Neither the lion nor its use in ornamental designs was new to the Armenians. In Greater Armenia, figures of lions appeared on buildings, city walls, and even churches. There is a lion walking on the main city gate of Ani, the capital city of the Bagratids. Strzygowski¹⁹ gives an illustration of an Armenian throne which shows two lions facing each other.

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<sup>14</sup> Reinaud, Vol. II, Pl. VIII, and p. 394.
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¹⁵ Garabetian, Hask Annuaire, 1949-50, pp. 274-293.

¹⁶ Sarre, pp. 11, 17, 39, 52, 55-6, 98, 108, 112-3, 128, etc.

¹⁷ Migeon, pp. 381, 395, 417.

¹⁸ Von Falke, pp. 40, 54, 68, 70–77, 80, 90, 105, 13104, 162, etc.

¹⁹ Strzygowski, p. 811.

De Beaumont²⁰ describes lions in a position very similar to that in the coins of Levon, flanking the tree of life. He claims that this illustration was taken from a twelfth century Armenian Bible which he saw at the Armenian Mekhitarist Monastery in St. Lazare, Venice.

In a Gospel of 1193 there is a good example of rampant regardant lions.²¹ In a comprehensive treatise recently published on illustrations in Armenian manuscripts derived from vegetable and animal life, there are numerous instances of lions shown in various positions. One illustration taken from a fourteenth century manuscript shows the lions rampant regardant as on a Levon I coin.²²

It may be concluded that the design of lions rampant regardant was not uncommon in the Near East but that the adoption of the cross in place of the tree of life was an innovation peculiar to the coinage of the Roupenians.

The double tram of Levon and its smaller denominations, (also a few rare coronation coins) have on the reverse a lion walking or holding a cross. While it is true that the lion appeared on some of the bracteates, the lion on Levon's coins has a characteristic design and it is significant that in this instance, the lion is holding a cross or is accompanied by a cross. This lion design may again be considered an original contribution to numismatic art, and it is found on the coins of most of the succeeding Roupenian rulers. One is reminded of the Agnus Dei Crusader gold coins wherein the lamb appears holding a pennant.²³ These coins were most likely issued half a century after the coins of Levon I, but the substitution of a lion holding the cross instead of the usual lamb holding the cross, cannot be overlooked in connection with the design of Levon's double tram types.

The "agnus dei" appears on a rare copper coin attributed to Raymond II of Tripoli (1152–1187), but the lamb is walking and is not holding the cross.²⁴ The "agnus dei," holding a cross, also occurs in the Armenian Gospel of Venice of the year 1193.²⁵

- ²⁰ Beaumont, Pl. X, 6, 7, pp. 52-3.
- ²¹ Der Nersessian, Manuscrits Arméniens Illustrés, Pl. XVIII, Fig. 40.
- ²² Mnatsaganyan, p. 396, No. 7374.
- ²² Schlumberger, Num. de l'Orient Latin, Pl. XIX, 9. See also Grierson, ANS Museum Notes, VI, 169-176, Pl. XVIII, 1-2.
- ²⁴ Schlumberger, Num. de l'Orient Latin, p. 103, Pl. IV, 8.
- 25 Der Nersessian, Manuscrits Arméniens Illustrés, Pl. XXIX.



COPPER COINS. Levon I issued a large number of copper coins of more or less uniform size and weight. On the obverse of these coins appears the leonine head of the king with a crown, and on the reverse, a long cross with two stars.

Langlois²⁶ states that the obverse of Levon's copper coins was patterned after the coins of the Norman kings of Sicily.²⁷ There seems to be very little relationship between these two types, however, as the Sicilian coins show a lion's head, whereas Levon's coins show the leonine head of the king, with beard, crown, etc. It would therefore appear that here again, Levon chose a design of some originality.

The reverse of Levon's copper coins, having a Patriarchal or Calvary cross and two stars, appears to be related in design to some Byzantine coins,²⁸ but the introduction of stars indicates a degree of originality in the design of these coins.

HETOUM I. With the ascension of Hetoum to the throne, a definite change took place in the type of coinage. The double lion design disappeared, and there was a tendency to imitate oriental types of coinage, possibly indicating a weakening of the influence of the Crusader principalities and a strengthening of the Mohammedan elements surrounding the Armenians.

The most common silver coins were the trams. The reverse of these coins shows a lion either holding a cross or accompanied by one. The lion stands rightward, facing front, sometimes holds the cross as in the coins of Levon, and sometimes walks with one paw in the air (lion passant guardant), the cross behind him. There is no doubt that this is a continuation of the coin design of Levon.

The obverse of these trams, however, is unique in that it shows the king and queen facing each other, wearing royal vestments, and both holding the same cross. The representation of the queen's image on the coin was obviously in recognition of the fact that she was of royal lineage, whereas Hetoum was the prince consort, crowned king. As Langlois points out,²⁹ such a representation of a king and queen appeared on a Byzantine coin of Constantine XIII Ducas and Queen



²⁶ Langlois, Num. de l'Arménie au moyen âge, p. 47.

²⁷ Spinelli, p. 33, 721.

²⁸ Schlumberger, Num. de l'Orient Latin, p. 91, Pl. XLIII, 4-5.

²⁹ Langlois, Num. de l'Arménie au moyen âge, p. 54.

Eudocia (1059–1067).30,31 The designs, however, are by no means dentiical.

Another type of silver coin issued by Hetoum (in comparatively small numbers) shows on one side the king on horseback, wearing a crown and holding a sceptre.³² The horse is facing right in all cases.

The coin design showing the king on horseback was used on many coins from the earliest times. Coins with an equestrian design were issued by Kilij Arslān (1156–1188) of Konya and by his successors, ³³, ³⁴ and this fact may have influenced Hetoum's choice of design for his bilingual coins.

copper coins. The copper coins of Hetoum also present novel features and differ from those issued by Levon. Indeed, unlike Levon's coppers, all of which were of the same type and of uniform size, Hetoum's coppers represent several varieties and two distinct sizes.

There are the large copper coins of Hetoum, of about the same weight and diameter as Levon's, with the king, on the obverse, seated on a simple throne or on a throne ornamented with lions, wearing a crown, and holding a sceptre in the right hand and a cross or orb in the left. This design is apparently a variation of the obverse of Levon's silver coins. The reverse of these copper coins bears a Greek or Potent (Jerusalem) cross, with many types of field marks. The cross can be found on some Byzantine coins³⁶ as well as on numerous coins struck by the Crusaders³⁶—an indication of the king's Christian faith.

Hetoum also issued a smaller version of these large copper coins. A variation of this small copper shows the king on a throne ornamented with lions, as on the obverse of Levon's trams, but the execution is less careful.

A second type of small copper coin is also found in great numbers. On the obverse, the king is on horseback. The design is very much like that of the bilingual silver coins, but it has not been executed with as much artistic skill. This is obviously a case where the design

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30 Saulcy, Numismatique Byzantine, Pl. XXV, 1.
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³¹ Sabatier, pp. 168-9, Pl. L, 9.

³² Bedoukian, ANS Museum Notes VII, pp. 219–230, Pl. XXX.

³³ Marsden, pp. 88-90, Vol. 1, Pl. VI, No. LXXXIII.

³⁴ Østrup, p. 128, Pl. IV, No. 1312.

³⁵ Sabatier, Vol. II, Pl. LI, 3.

³⁶ Schlumberger, Num. de l'Orient Latin.

of the silver coins was merely transferred to the copper coins. The reverse has the usual cross with various field marks.

LEVON II. On the obverse, the silver coins of Levon II are all of the equestrian type issued by Hetoum I, with various field marks, and exhibit no new features. The reverse of these silver coins also follows the design used by his predecessors. The lion is walking or standing in either direction.

The obverse of the copper coins shows a lion walking left, or in rare cases, walking right. In all previous cases of silver coins with a single lion, the lion was represented facing front, crowned, and either holding a cross or accompanied by one. The lion on the copper coins of Levon II does not face front, and is quite different in styling from the lions appearing on the coins of the German emperors. It closely resembles, however, the walking lions appearing in architectural designs in greater Armenia, 37 and quite likely the lion motif on Armenian coins came from greater Armenia rather than elsewhere. The reverse of the copper coins has the cross with various stars or lines as field marks, reminiscent of the copper coins of Hetoum I.

HETOUM II. The coinage of Hetoum II presents certain peculiarities as a result of political circumstances and personal eccentricities of the king. He did not issue silver coins and contented himself with striking copper coins and billons bearing his name.

The small billons resembles some of the contemporary Crusader coins. The obverse shows the king's head³⁸ executed in a style similar to that of the coins of Guy de Lusignan of Jerusalem (1186–1192). Jean de Brienne (1212–1225), and Henry I of Cyprus (1218–1253). On the reverse is the usual cross, not unlike the one on the coins of Henry I.

The copper coins of Hetoum also show the Latin influence. On the obverse is the head of the king, similar in style to the coinage of the kings mentioned above.³⁸ The reverse has a cross with ornamental leaves at its base. This distinctive, ornamented cross appeared on the earlier coins of the counts of Edessa, and on the coins of Latin emperors of Constantinople (1204–1261).³⁹

In another variety of copper coins, the king is seated in typical oriental fashion, wearing a crown, his right hand at his breast and



³⁷ Strzygowski, pp. 285, 286, 295, 540, 811.

³⁸ Schlumberger, Num. de l'Orient Latin, Pl. IV, 25, 31, Pl. VI, 8, 9.

³⁹ Ibid., Pl. I, 8, 9, 14, 15.

his left holding a sceptre or cross. Designs of this type have appeared on the coinage of several Moslem rulers in Asia Minor and Syria, e.g. on the coins of Urtuqis of Mardin⁴⁰ (Nāṣir al-Dīn Urtuq Arslān—628 H. or 1230—1231 A.D.). On the reverse there is an ornamented or simple Greek cross.

SMPAD. The coins of Smpad do not exhibit any novel features. The silver coins are rather poor imitations of those of Levon I, the main difference being that in most cases the king's left hand is above the knees, holding a mace which extends over the left shoulder. The coins have been executed with little care. The equestrian design of the copper coins is apparently derived from the bilingual coins of Hetoum I. The reverse has the usual cross but in the field there are four lilies or figures resembling doves in flight.

GOSDANTIN I. It is interesting that although Gosdantin's rule lasted less than a year, he nevertheless struck gold, silver, and copper coins of unusual and distinctive designs.

There are records of two different types of gold coins.^{41, 42} On the obverse of both, the king is on horseback, facing right, and holding a sword in his right hand. This design, although reminiscent of the equestrian coins of Levon II and Hetoum I, shows marked dissimilarities, in that instead of a mace or similar object being held over the king's shoulder, the king here holds a raised sword in his right hand as if ready to strike.

On the reverse, one type bears a pictorial representation of a fort or castle with a single turret. The other type shows three turrets. The reverse styling is similar to that of the coins of some of the Crusader princes, and of several kings of Cyprus.⁴³

The obverse of the silver coins is like that of the gold coins. The reverse shows the king standing and wearing a crown and royal robes, holding a sword in his right hand and a cross in his left. The idea of representing victory for justice by a cross and sword is not entirely new. The die-maker has done his best to represent Gosdantin's image on all of his coins. Somewhat similar, though cruder coins of this type, were issued by the counts of Edessa about a century earlier.⁴⁴



^{**} Urtukis of Mardin, B. M. Oriental Coins, Vol. III, No. 469 (1877).

¹¹ Basmadjian, Num. Générale de l'Arménie, p. 165.

¹² Bedoukian, *Handes Amsorya*, 1958, pp. 381-390.

⁴³ Schlumberger, Num. de l'Orient Latin, Pl. IV, V, VI.

[&]quot; Ibid. Pl. I, 12; Pl. XIX, 2.

LATER KINGS. It would be repetitious to enumerate the coinage of each ruler beginning with Levon III to the last king, Leo V Lusignan, as the styling and design vary only slightly during this period. All of the silver coins of Levon III, Oshin, Levon IV, Guy (Gosdantin II), Gosdantin III, Levon the Usurper, and Gosdantin IV, show on the obverse the king on horseback, with various mintmarks, and on the reverse, the lion walking right, with a cross in the field above the lion.

The styling and execution of the coins of each succeeding king deteriorated gradually, so that the silver coins of the last two Gosdantins are often poorly shaped and present a greyish appearance because of their low silver content.

Only the billons of Levon V Lusignan show a different styling, resembling the billons of Hetoum II, and probably patterned after the coin design of Crusader kings.³⁸

The size of the copper coins decreased as time went on. The coins of Levon IV, Guy and Gosdantin III, are very small and are monotonously similar. On the obverse, the king is seated on the throne, usually holding a cross in his right hand and a fleur de lys in his left. A simple Greek cross appears on the reverse. In design, these copper coins represent an evolution of the large copper coins of Hetoum I. They are quite scarce.

Both Levon the Usurper and Gosdantin IV abandoned the striking of small copper coins (poghs), but used instead silver coin (takvorin) type dies for their copper coinage. Levon's copper coins have the letter P in the field in all cases so far encountered. Gosdantin IV also issued copper coins similar in design to the silver takvorins, with the letter P in the field, but some do not have this mark. Possibly, these were struck at a later period.

Only in the copper coins of Levon V, who was a Lusignan of Cyprus, is there a variation in styling. The copper coins are quite small in size. On the obverse, there is the characteristic lion of Cyprus, walking right or left, and on the reverse, a cross.⁴⁶

45 Since Sibilian attributes no coins to Levon the Usurper, all copper coins with *lbunt* and field mark β are listed as belonging to Levon V. In general, Sibilian is incorrect for the period of 1344–1375, when dealing with the coinage of Gosdantin III, Levon the Usurper, Gosdantin IV and Levon V.
46 Schlumberger, Num. de l'Orient Latin, Pl. VI, 23, 26; Pl. VII, 9, 12, 13, 24.



INSCRIPTIONS ON ROUPENIAN COINS

With the exception of the small number of bilingual (Armenian-Arabic) coins of Hetoum I, and the rare billons of Levon I (Latin characters), all of the coins of the Roupenian dynasty bear Armenian characters and inscriptions.

Although very few non-Armenians are familiar with the Armenian language and alphabet, the reading of the inscriptions on the coins can be mastered by anyone with a little practice. The Armenian alphabet was designed around 405 A.D. by an Armenian clergyman, and is admirably suited for the language. Each letter carries a single sound which is the same in any word.

Moreover, the inscriptions on the coins of the different rulers are fairly uniform. By memorizing a few types of inscriptions, one can recognize and identify most of the Roupenian coins.

The Armenian alphabet consisted of thirty-six characters (three others have been added more recently and do not, of course, appear on the Roupenian coins). The type and form of the script on the coins are known as Yergatakir (bpquppp) and are similar to the uncial script used in some contemporary and earlier manuscripts.

It was common practice to use combined letters or ligatures on coins, documents, etc. The most common ligatures were combinations of the letters n and n to give n (OR) as in n (OU) as in n (ASDOUDZO). Other ligatures are seldom found on coins.

TRANSLITERATION OF THE ARMENIAN ALPHABET

Ц	ш	A	bar	ķ	Ļ	Ē	<i>e</i> ver
ß	E	P	mild p	Ļ	Ľ	ľ,	ev <i>e</i> r
9.	q	K	mild k	P	P	T	tank
?	Ţ	T	mild t	ф	J	Zh	azure
\boldsymbol{b}	h	E	<i>e</i> ver	þ	ŀ	Ι	in
2	2	Z	Z	Ļ	L	L	1



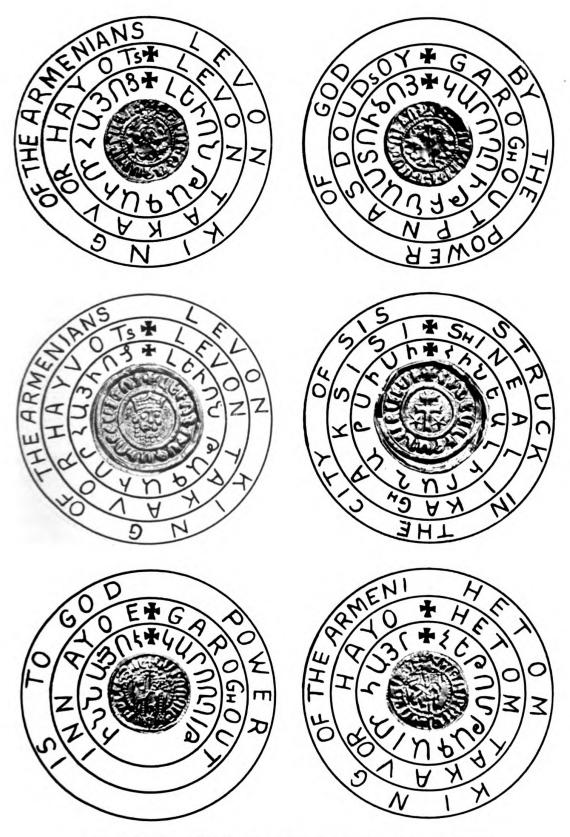
h	ŀ	Kh ich (German)	Q g	Ch mild ch
σ	ક	Dz Birds	<i>Ո</i> Ի ու	R r hard
Ч	4	G go	U u	S s
2	5	H hair	4 4	V v
$\boldsymbol{\varrho}$	à	Ts tsar	8 ம	D d
2	1_	Gh Paris (French)	e l	R r race
ď	X	J George	8 g	Ts tsiang
U	ſ	M m	h L	U or V in ligatures
8	J	Y y		we au or beau
Ն	ኔ			ne ou or poor
\boldsymbol{c}	٤	Sh shoe		he iu or puny
N	п	O or	<i>Փ</i> փ	P park
$\boldsymbol{\varrho}$	٤	Ch church	₽ ₽	K kick
Ŋ	щ	B b		

Three later additions

The inscriptions on the Roupenian coins follow a general pattern. Usually, the abbreviated form of the full inscription appears on the coins, as seen from the examples given below.

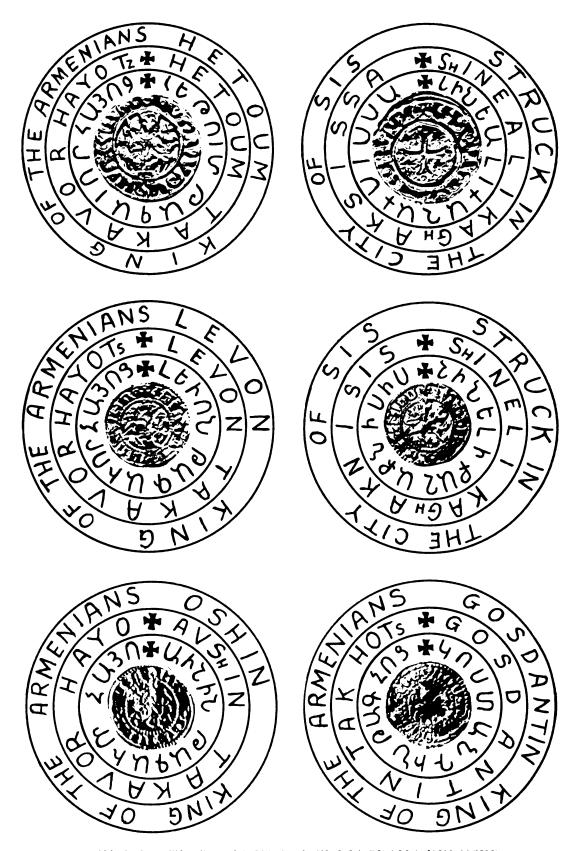
Since the Armenians call themselves $\angle US$ (HAY, pronounced HIGH), the word $\angle USNS$ (HAYOTS), meaning "of the Armenians" appears on most of the coins, with numerous abbreviations.

The following illustrations will facilitate the reading of the legend on most of the coins of this period.



COIN ILLUSTRATIONS IN ABOVE DIAGRAMS REDUCED FROM ACTUAL SIZE





COIN ILLUSTRATIONS IN ABOVE DIAGRAMS REDUCED FROM ACTUAL SIZE



COINS FROM THE PERIOD OF PRINCES

From 1080 to 1199, eight successive Roupenian princes ruled over some part of Cilicia. Levon II, the last of these princes, began his rule in 1187, and was crowned king in 1199.

A few coins of this period have survived, although it is not known whether all of the princes struck coins. The collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris contains some coins which have been attributed to Armenian rulers of Asia Minor. These coins do not bear an inscription, and one has been placed in the corpus.¹

In the Mekhitarian Museum of Venice, there is a rather interesting specimen with a worn legend. Alishan, who was the first to describe this coin, attributed it to either Gosdantin I (1095–1099) or to Toros.²

A coin of unusual thickness, now in the Mekhitarian collection in Vienna, is attributed to Toros I (1129-1137). On one side, it has the ruler's name, and on the other, a cross with various unintelligible signs. A different specimen, obviously a coin, recently came into the author's possession.

The author recently acquired a small copper coin with the inscription **FAPAU** which was attributed to Toros II.

Alishan, in his book Sissouan, mentions that Mleh had struck coins jointly with Nūr al-Dīn of Aleppo, but adds that he does not recall the source of his information. It is possible that he had in mind a remark by Brosset concerning a coin struck by a Mohammaden ruler in Asia Minor.³, ⁴

In all likelihood, some of the later princes struck coins as they were quite independent and controlled extensive territories, comparable to the Crusader principalities.

Most of the coins which we have from this period were struck by Prince Levon II, who later became the first king of Cilician Armenia. Ten of these are known to exist in public and private collections, and there is a record of one which has been lost.⁵



¹ Morgan, p. 193. ² Alishan, Sissouan p. 378. ³ Lebeau, XVI, p. 305.

Langlois, Num. de l'Arménie au moyen âge, p. 34.

Garabetian, *Pazmaveb*, July-Sept. 1952, p. 156. According to this article specimen belonging to Dr. Der Ghazarian of Aleppo has been lost.

THE GOLD COINS*

The existence of a total of sixteen Armenian gold coins of the Roupenian dynasty (1080-1375) has been reported at various times in the past.

Langlois in 1855¹ mentioned a gold coin of Gosdantin I (1298 to 1299). This coin belonged to Peter Markar Alishan, and after his death in 1834 in Constantinople, was given to the museum of the Mekhitarist Fathers in Venice, where it is to be found today.

A second gold coin, struck by Levon I (1199–1219) was reported by Schlumberger² in 1881, with a full description.

Father Alishan, the son of Peter Markar Alishan, and a member of the Mekhitarist Monastery in Venice, mentioned another variety of a gold coin of Levon I in his monumental treatise on Cilician Armenia. This publication appeared in Armenian in 1885³ and in French in 1899.⁴

Thereafter, more extensive listings of the known gold coins of this period were given in Sibilian's book. It is indeed unfortunate that this book, the only worth while publication on the coinage of the Roupenian period, appeared only in Armenian, and was therefore of little use to most numismatists. Sibilian wrote his manuscript in 1877 and it is obvious that at that time he was only familiar with the gold coin of Gosdantin I. When the book was published in 1892, the editor, Father Kalemkiarian, made many additions to the text including a listing of the reported gold coins. On pages 13–14 of this book, Father Kalemkiarian quoted excerpts from a letter written on

- * This section on gold coins duplicates essentially the author's article in ANS Museum Notes X, pp. 113-120.
- ¹ V. Langlois, Numismatique de l'Arménie au moyen âge (Paris, 1855).
- ² G. Schlumberger, Archives de l'Orient latin, Vol. I, pp. 675-678, 1881, Paris.
- ³ L. M. Alishan, Sissouan, (Venice, 1885) (In Armenian).
- ⁴ L. M. Alishan, Sissouan ou l'Arméno-Cilicie. Description geographique et historique, avec carte et illustrations. Traduit du texte arménien. (Venice, 1899.)
- ⁵ C. Sibilian, Classification of Roupenian Coins (Vienna, 1892) (In Armenian).



the 24th of December, 1885, by Serovpe M. Alishan, Father Alishan's brother, who was then a well-known numismatist in Constantinople. This letter is of interest in that it lists all the gold coins known to the writer. A free translation of the relevant passages follows:

- "I. I have in my possession an old letter written to my father by Father Phillippe of the Mekhitarists, who recalls that they had a gold coin of Levon which was destroyed in the great fire of Pera in 1831.6
 - 2. A gold coin of Gosdantin which belonged to my father.
- 3. A gold coin of Levon was found upon the death of Djanig Amira.⁷ Its whereabouts now unknown.
- 4. Many years ago a friend of mine saw a gold piece in the possession of a monk in an Armenian monastery in Caesarea.
- 5. A gold coin of Levon I, which is now in Venice and is illustrated in Sissouan.³
 - 6. One in possession of Schlumberger brought from Caesarea.
- 7. A gold coin of Levon sold in Caesarea which eventually found its way to Rollin.8
 - 8. I know of another one, possibly from Caesarea.

I know of these eight only. The last four being similar, it is possible that a group of these have been found, possibly along with the silver coins of Levon I which we received from Father Sibilian. I am in doubt and consider the possibility of the ones written Lbh's being forgeries. One lip of the king is missing but possibly the ancient die cutter made it as such, as it is."

At a later date, a few other gold coins were discovered and these were also reported by Serovpe M. Alishan.

- "9. A gold coin of Levon in possession of someone in Constantinople which is identical with numbers 7 and 9.
- 10. A gold coin of Levon-Hetoum, now in the Mekhitarist Museum in Venice.
 - II. A gold coin of Levon in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.



In a footnote on page 13 of Sibilian's book, Father Kalemkiarian mentions that he obtained a copy of the letter written by Father Philippe to Serovpe M. Alishan, in which this coin is described with some detail. It is obvious from this letter that it belonged to Levon II.

The death of Djanig Amira occurred between 1850 and 1860.

The firm of Rollin-Feuardent, dealers in coins and medals, ended its activities in 1920's.

- 12. Another one found identical with No. 10.
- 13. A gold coin which was offered for sale to the Bibliothèque Nationale but was not purchased by the latter because it was identical with their piece No. 11."

Basmadjian⁹ in his book published in 1936, lists the thirteen coins mentioned above, and adds three others known to him:

- 14. A gold coin of Levon I in Rollin's possession.
- 15. A gold coin of Levon I in the collection of N. Kalebjian.
- 16. A gold coin of Levon I in the collection of H. Habeshian.

No other gold coins have been reported since that date; with the exception of a second gold coin of Gosdantin I in the Istanbul Museum which is identical with No. 2. It is interesting to note that 5, 7 and 9 are identical, also 6, 11 and 13. Basmadjian does not give a detailed description of his three pieces.

Recently, Garabetian¹⁰ claimed that all the gold coins were forgeries, with the exception of the Gosdantin piece. He does not give reasons for this statement, but promises to return to that question at a future date. To the best of the writer's knowledge, no further report has been published on this subject.

During the course of preparation of the corpus on the coinage of this period, the writer examined most of the important existing collections and obtained rubbings of over 10,000 specimens. Among these were ten gold coins, consisting of four types as follows:

LEVON I

[Half Double Tram Type]

Obv. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՒՍՈՑ

I. 4.80 gms. Bibliothèque Nationale [No. 6 of list]

II. 5.30 gms. Bibliothèque Nationale [No. 11 of list]

III. — K. Baghdadlian, Cannes [No. 15 of list]

⁹ K. J. Basmadjian, Numismatique générale de l'Arménie (Venice, 1936) (In Armenian).

¹⁰ B. Garabetian, *Pazmaveb*, Nos. 7-9, 1952, p. 166 (Venice, Italy) (In Armenian).



LEVON I

[Two Lion Tram Type]

Obv. **ԼԵԻՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ** Rev. **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ**ՌԾՈ

IV. 6.3 gms. Bibliothèque Nationale [No. 7 or 9 on list]

V. 6.25 gms. Vienna Mekhitarist Museum [No.7 or 9 on list]

VI. 7.0 gms. Mme. N. Kapamadji, Paris [No. 7 or 9 on list]

7.0 gms. Venice Mekhitarist Museum (?) [No. 5 on list]

LEVON I-HETOUM I

[Tram Type]

Obv. LENT PUPULAN ZUB×N8+ Rev. ZEPNAT PUPULAN ZUBN8

VII. 5.3 gms. Vienna Mekhitarist Museum [No. 12 of list]
VIII. — Venice Mekhitarist Museum [No. 10 of list]

GOSDANTIN I

IX. 3.6 gms. Venice Mekhitarist Museum [No. 2 of list]

X. 3.65 gms. Istanbul Archeological Museum [Turkey]

It is thus seen that of the sixteen coins listed above, No. 1 was destroyed in the fire, Nos. 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 15 are known to be in the collections mentioned above. No. 5 was apparently in the Mekhitarist Museum in Venice, but on a recent visit I was not able to find it, nor does Garabetian¹⁰ mention it in describing the collection of this museum.

It is also possible that coin VI is one of the sixteen listed. The number lost or unreported is therefore five, and it may be that some of these were duplications. The existence of coin X was discovered only recently.

Although over 12,000 silver and copper coins of this period are known to be in existence, there are few gold coins because these were



struck in very limited numbers, and only on special occasions. Levon I, being the first and most powerful king, may have struck the greatest number of gold coins. One can reasonably expect some day to find gold coins of the regular Hetoum-Zabel tram variety. The Levon I-Hetoum I gold coins were undoubtedly struck by Hetoum (1222-1270). The loss of the unique gold coin of Levon II is indeed unfortunate, and it is hoped that others will be discovered at some future date. The existence of a gold coin of one of the sons of Levon II indicates that the custom of striking gold coins continued at least until 1289. The possibility of finding gold coins of the succeeding rulers, Oshin and Levon III, should not be excluded.

It may be well to point out here that the Levon I-Hetoum I gold piece has been erroneously attributed to Hetoum I-Levon II. This error was first made by Kalemkiarian and repeated by Basmadjian and Garabetian. The Levon side of the gold coin is identical with that of a number of silver trams struck by Levon I. As a matter of fact, there is an illustration of this tram in Sibilian (Pl. 1, No. 11) as well as of the gold Levon I-Hetoum I coin, although because of the poor work on the part of the artist who prepared the drawings of this book, the two do not appear identical.

Some of the reasons put forth in support of claims that the gold pieces are forgeries are as follows:

- 1. The gold coins are not uniform in weight.
- 2. In the case of the silver trams, there is a free movement of the die positions, whereas the die positions are rigid in the gold coins.
- 3. The authentic Gosdantin gold coin has a design different from the silver pieces, whereas in all other gold coins, the design is similar to the silver trams.
- 4. There are silver trams having a design similar to that of the gold pieces, indicating that the forger copied the die for the gold coins from these trams.

At first glance, these arguments may seem plausible, but the counter arguments appear to be more valid.

- 1. The gold coins are not of uniform weight because they were struck as tokens commemorating certain occasions. They were not intended for circulation or trade.
- 2. The uniform position of the dies may be due to the greater care



- taken in striking these small issues. As can be seen from the illustration, however, the first six are $\uparrow\uparrow$, the seventh and eighth are $\uparrow\downarrow$, while the Gosdantins are $\uparrow\nearrow$ and $\uparrow\uparrow$.
- 3. It appears that the dies used for the gold coins were also used to strike some silver coins. While it is true that there are no silver trams having the Gosdantin gold design, it must be remembered that very few silver trams are known to exist from this king who ruled for less than a year, mostly being struck from different dies. It may therefore be too much to expect to find a tram struck from the gold coin die.
- 4. The fact that there are silver trams having designs identical with those of gold coins can certainly be interpreted as evidence supporting the authenticity of the gold coins.

It may be worth mentioning that in the past, those who studied Armenian numismatics expressed no doubts regarding the authenticity of the gold pieces. Langlois, Sibilian, Kalemkiarian, Alishan, Schlumberger and Basmadjian never questioned it. Quite recently, the Chief Abbot of the Mekhitarist Congregation in Vienna, Archbishop M. Habozian, wrote to me that he had called in two experts to examine the two gold pieces in their collection, both of whom declared the coins to be genuine. At a recent meeting, Dr. Paul Balog informed me that he had had the opportunity of examining the gold coins at the Mekhitarist Museum in Venice, and that he considered them to be genuine. The ten gold coins described in this paper were carefully examined by the writer and all appear to be authentic. In style and workmanship they resemble the genuine trams of this period.

In addition, it may be recalled that the records on some of these gold coins date back to the beginning of the nineteenth century when very few Roupenian coins were known to exist. It is most unlikely that forgeries of this caliber would be made at a time when very little was known about these coins and few people were particularly interested in them.

A gold coin struck in the name of two kings would have immediately aroused suspicion if it had been the work of a forger.

Although these considerations support the view that the gold coins are genuine, they constitute circumstantial evidence rather than proof of their authenticity.



The writer felt that if silver trams of indisputable authenticity could be found which were struck with the same dies used for the gold pieces, it could then be concluded that the latter were struck during the same period and were genuine. The possibility that original dies were found and used later for the gold coins was eliminated because it seems extremely unlikely. Of the thousands of dies used during the Roupenian dynasty, none has come to light, and the chances of a forger finding several in good condition six hundred years later would appear to be very slight indeed.

As mentioned earlier, it is quite possible that a silver Gosdantin coin identical with the gold piece [No. 8] will never be found because of the extreme rarity of these coins. Of the other three types, it was our good fortune to find trams from four out of the six dies used in the gold pieces.

Gold coins I, II and III are all from the same die [Corpus No. 5]. We have found two trams from the same die, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale (BN) and the other in the museum of the Venice Mekhitarians (VM).

We have not been successful in locating silver trams made from the die of gold coins IV, V and VI.

Coins VII and VIII offer the strongest support to the authenticity of the gold pieces. The Levon side is of a unique design and is presumably from a die made especially for the gold issue (No. 6). It is readily distinguishable from the usual tram types and we were able to find no less than fifteen trams of this type, all from one die, that of the gold piece. It is even more interesting to note that the fifteen trams had on the reverse four varieties of the usual two lion-cross design used on the common trams of Levon I.¹¹

The reverse of the gold coin shows the common type of lion holding the cross found on the reverse of the Hetoum-Zabel trams. Fortunately, a single specimen struck from this die was found in the writer's own collection (No. 7).

The existence of these authentic trams struck from the same die as the gold coins proves beyond a reasonable doubt that these gold coins are genuine.¹²

- ¹¹ Many additional ones found in the Mersin hoard of Levon I trams in the Istanbul Museum.
- ¹² P. Bedoukian, *Handes Amsorya*, LXII, 1958, pp. 381-390 (Vienna, Austria) (In Armenian).



FORGERIES

In the past few years, a number of new gold coins have appeared on the market, all struck from the same die. These pieces, of which at least eight are known to the author, are obvious forgeries. Their average weight is only 2.5 grams, which is less than even that of the silver trams, the design and workmanship are poor, and unlike those of the regular silver coins. The writer was informed on several instances that these were made recently by a jeweler in Antakya (Turkey) and placed on the market. An illustration of this forgery is given corpus No. 775.



COINS ISSUED BY THE KINGS

THE COINAGE OF LEVON I

In studying the coinage of Levon I, one is confronted with a number of interesting problems, such as the reason for the issuance of the single lion types, and for the occurrence of so many obverse and reverse varieties. It is also at present impossible to arrange the many different types of coins in a chronological order.

All of the silver coins, with the exception of the double trams and a few rare coronation types, are of the two-lion design. Perhaps the relatively rare series of double trams and their smaller denominations were struck in Tarsus before the establishment of the mint in Sis. The explanation for the change in the die to the two-lion design coins, and for the scarcity of the double trams (single lion types) is not known.

The idea of issuing a coin having twice the usual value and weight of the ordinary silver coins in circulation in the Mediterranean area and Europe seems to have originated with Levon. It did not become popular, probably because the people were used to the regular Byzantine and Arab silver coins, and found the large coin too much of a novelty. It is noteworthy, however, that Levon issued this type of double tram along with half and quarter denominations having approximately 5.5, 2.8, and 1.3 gram weight respectively. Since the single lion design appears only on these coins and a few rare coronation types, while the great majority of the remaining coronation types have the two-lion design, it is reasonable to assume that the single lion types were the first coins issued by the king. It appears, although this point is by no means certain, that Levon was crowned king in 1196, but it was not until 1199 that he was anointed in the presence of the head of the Armenian church, the Catholicos Abirad and the Pope's legate, Conrad the Archbishop of Mainz. Possibly the double trams were issued between 1196 and 1199, followed by the coronation coins.

The double trams are rare. The corpus of this book lists only 96 double trams, over 130 half-double trams, and only three of the



quarter-double trams. Less than ten of these bear the full inscription of

Obv. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՑՆ ՀԱՑՈՑ Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԵԱՄԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ

while the majority have the abbreviated inscription of

Obv. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԳՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՅՆ ՀԱՅՈՑ Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ

with a small number having intermediate inscriptions. It is noteworthy that whereas the half-double trams bear the abbreviated inscription, the quarter-double trams, because of insufficient space, have only

> Obv. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳ Rev. ԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

There are several copper double trams in existence, all of which are mentioned in the corpus. They have been examined by the writer and appear to be genuine. Apparently a small number of these coins were struck for circulation. There are, however, no copper coins of the half and quarter tram type.

Schlumberger¹ describes a gold seal of Levon I, attached to a royal charter probably issued in 1207, which is somewhat similar in design to the double tram, although differing in the inscription.

Various field marks found on these coins are most likely marks of the die-maker rather than marks indicating periods of issue, since the same marks in each class appear on coins having different inscriptions.

Although the variations in the inscription are not considered indicative of different dates of issue, they serve admirably as a method of classification. In the corpus the most complete obverse inscriptions of each class are listed first, giving all the available variations of the reverse in scriptions. This is followed by the next most complete obverse inscription with its reverse variations, etc.

The coronation trams are unique in that they were struck only by Levon I, possibly to commemorate the beginning of an Armenian dynasty as well as the coronation itself. These coins show the anointment of the king in January, 1199, and were most likely all struck that year. On the obverse is seen the letter θ which may be an abbreviation of $\theta h \nu h \nu$, the Armenian for Jesus, or may simply be a field mark. The coronation coins having a single lion on the reverse ¹ Schlumberger, $M \ell lange d'Archéologique Byzantine$, p. 164.



represent the transition from the single lion to the double lion tram which Levon later issued. It is interesting that the design of the cross seen between the two lions is different in styling from the cross designs of the common trams of Levon, and one might consider this a formative period before definite cross types became established.

No half trams of the coronation type are known to exist.

The common trams of Levon were struck during his entire reign and probably for several years after his death until the coronation of Hetoum I as king. During this entire period, there was an evolution of design and type, but since none of the trams bears a date, it is impossible to assign precise periods of issue.

The absence of a uniform inscription on the coins appears to be due to the failure of the die maker to produce dies having a uniform inscription. As a result, some of the coins have inscriptions which lack letters at the end. It is noteworthy, however, that most of the coins have the standard inscription with few missing letters, and these are executed with greater care than the ones missing more letters. In general, this is true of the majority of coins issued by the rulers of this period.

Not having a definite sequence of issue, it was necessary to create an artificial system of classification. Sibilian² in his classic treatise points out the main variations of Levon's trams based on the obverse inscription of the coins and on styling. He observes that in a hoard of 500 trams, there were almost fifteen main varieties, each exhibiting further differences by minor variations in design and inscription. Sibilian also points out that some of Levon's coins are artistic in design, others less artistic, and some, barbaric. He concludes that there was a gradual deterioration in the artistic workmanship of Levon's coins in the latter years of his reign.

Recently, Garabetian³ adopted a new system of classification based on the cross design of the coins. He proposes that a new cross design was used each year, and that each die maker adopted a definite inscription on the obverse side, varying the inscription on the reverse for each month of the year. It should therefore be possible to establish the month and year of issue of a given coin, as well as the die master responsible for its design. Such a system, however, would have demand-

- ² Sibilian, Classification of Roupenian Coins, p. 10.
- ³ Garabetian, Pazmaveb 1952, p. 160.



ed a degree of exactitude unknown in those days. The main thesis that a new cross design was chosen each year for all the coins seems untenable for several reasons. We find a number of cross designs on the coronation coins, yet it is not likely that there was any occasion to strike coronation coins year after year and it is logical to assume that the cross design was a mint mark used by the die-master. Furthermore, certain coins, such as the ones with the inscription lbhn't pururnt subuub have a unique characteristic design not used with any other type of inscription—obviously the work of one die-master during a specific period. Although the reverse presents a large number of different cross designs, it is improbable that coins struck over a considerable period of time can so closely resemble each other on the obverse. It seems more reasonable to assume that coins with almost identical inscriptions, design and workmanship, were made within a limited period of time, perhaps a year, in spite of the many cross designs on a given type.

A critical examination of the trams of Levon and comparative studies of combinations and permutations of different varieties suggested a classification based on the obverse inscription. In the corpus of Levon's coins, each type is listed under the inscription of the obverse, and the variety of the type by the inscription on the reverse.

Coins having the same inscription on the obverse but having different designs and workmanship are not considered as belonging to the same type and are listed separately since they were undoubtedly a different issue. This is not a common occurrence.

The obverse of the coins exhibits a uniformity which serves admirably for their classification, but the existence of so many variations of the same inscription on the reverse is difficult to explain. It may be said that the various cross designs are the work of different diemasters, but how does one account for the manifold inscriptions accompanying each cross design? Garabetian's suggestion that each variation represents a month of the year cannot be readily accepted since there are more than twelve varieties of reverse inscriptions. It is not impossible that while the obverse was indicative of a specific type issue, the cross designs on the reverse differentiated the diemasters, who paid little attention to the completeness of the inscription.



In examining over three-thousand trams of Levon I, one is struck by certain peculiarities of design and legend. There appear to be three main types of crosses, each with their numerous variations. It is significant that two of these are associated with the artistic types of coins while the third is invariably found in the semi-artistic or barbaric style coins. These facts suggest that periodically there was a change in the design of the coins, and quite likely, both styling and workmanship deteriorated towards the end of the king's reign.

In the corpus of Levon I coins, the single lion coins appear first. These are followed by the half trams. This was done in order to facilitate the examination of these small coins. Actually, the half trams are patterned after the trams and there are a number of types in existence, the majority being the artistic type. It is curious that while over three-thousand trams are listed in the corpus, the half trams number less than twenty-five.

It is probable that the coins issued after the coronation series were the trams bearing the inscription **lbhll bushl** with **lushl**. These are the only trams having the word **with**, reminiscent of the double trams. Furthermore, the style of the cross on the reverse is somewhat different in type and execution from the common crosses of the regular trams.

Some coins depict a rather ornate king seated on the throne. These coins are easily distinguished from others and it is interesting that the reverse cross mark is always of the barbaric type. Similarly, the



coins having a star instead of a cross in the inscription circle, constitute a definite class, and all have a cross of the barbaric type. There is also a very large class of badly executed coins which definitely are of the barbaric type and belong to the later issues.

Following these main types, the corpus lists errors, rarities, coins in which the king is holding the fleur-de-lys in the right hand, and the cross in the left, instead of vice-versa. Here again, some seem to be of a certain type or issue but there are individual pieces which belong to definite types mentioned elsewhere in the corpus, in which the diemaker made a mistake and placed the cross in the wrong hand. These constitute rarities.

An examination of the legend discloses a certain evolution of styling and execution. In the earlier types listed, the letters are clear cut and artistic in style. With the exception of a few coins, the semi-barbaric and barbaric types have less carefully executed letters, and in all cases the letter \boldsymbol{v} is inverted to $\boldsymbol{\theta}$. In the later issues, one notices inverted and half-finished letters indicative of the carelessness of the die-maker.

While there is a definite deterioration in the styling and execution of the coins toward the end of the king's reign, the weight and fineness of his silver coins seems to have suffered little, if at all.

The copper coins of Levon (tanks) are generally large and fairly uniform in weight. As in the case of the silver coins, it has been found convenient to classify them according to the obverse inscription. The main classes are distinguishable by the number of dots on the king's crown. There seems to be some relationship between the crown design and the general styling of the coins. A further differentiation of classes was made according to the design of the monarch's hair. We thus have one class with five dots in the crown of the king, another with five dots and a single curl in the hair, a third with five dots and two curls in the hair, etc. This classification repeats itself with the crown having six, seven or more dots.

It should be noted here again that in the absence of some definite means of arranging the copper coins in chronological order, we have chosen an arbitrary means of classification in order to make it possible to locate a single coin easily.

A more precise classification of both the silver and copper coins, preferably based on their chronological order of issue, must await the



discovery of hoards. It is unfortunate that although several hoards of Levon's trams have been reported in the past, there is no accurate record of these hoards to make their study possible.

While the great majority of coins struck by Levon I consists of the silver and copper coins mentioned above, there are two other series which are of special numismatic interest.

When Levon captured Antioch in 1216 and appointed his greatnephew Raymond-Roupen as the ruler of the city, he struck coins commemorating the occasion. These coins, resembling the regular coins of Antioch, are very rare. They are in Latin characters and bear the inscription, LEO DEI GRATIA REX ARMENIOR, or its variation. Four of these coins are listed in the corpus.

The gold coins of Levon I, along with other gold coins of this period, were discussed at some length in the previous section.

THE COINAGE OF HETOUM I

The silver and copper coins issued during the long reign of Hetoum do not have the large number of varieties of types found in Levon's coinage, but they do show considerable originality in design and styling. The most important differences occur in the design of Hetoum's common trams, the limited issues of bilingual coins, and the two denominations of copper coins, with their several distinct types.

On all the coins of the Roupenian rulers, the obverse shows the king's image and name. In Hetoum's coinage, on the obverse Hetoum and Zabel hold a cross with the inscription \(\mu \mathbb{P} \) \(\mu \mathbb{P} \) \(\mu \mathbb{E} \) in its many variations. On the reverse there is a lion either holding a cross or walking, with the cross above the lion, and the inscription \(\mu \mathbb{P} \) \(\mu \mathbb{E} \) \(\mu \m

The obverse showing the king and queen openly acknowledged the fact that the queen was of royal lineage and that Hetoum was her consort. It is noteworthy that although Zabel died in 1252, all of Hetoum's silver coins bear the image of both the king and queen, indicating that he continued to strike coins of this design until the end of his reign in 1270.

The lack of proper records of the hoards of Levon's trams has made it impossible to arrange the numerous types in chronological order.



Fortunately, however, the acquisition in 1958 of a substantial hoard by the American Numismatic Society and the rubbings acquired of another large hoard belonging to A. Poladian in Beirut, Lebanon, have facilitated the arrangement of Hetoum's trams in the order of issue of certain types. By comparing the two hoards, one of which was buried during the middle of Hetoum's reign, and the other shortly after the king's death, it was possible to arrive at the following order of issue.

NUMBER OF COINS

		A.N.S. HOARD	POLADIAN HOARD
•	Obv. Cross with star Rev. Lion holding cross	8	12
Group II	Obv. Cross with dot		_
	Rev. Lion holding cross	12	9
	period of mixed dies	I	2
Group III	Obv. Cross with dot		
	Rev. Lion walking	46	112
Group IV	Obv. Plain cross		
	Rev. Lion walking	40	108
Group V	Obv. Plain cross	·	
	Rev. Star under lion	16	
Group VI	Obv. Plain cross		
-	Rev. Star under lion		
	No cross	7	
Group VII	Obv. Plain cross		
•	Rev. No star under lion		
	No cross	24	
Last issue t			
Undeciphe	red	7	37
		163	280

Here again, as in the case of Levon's trams, a gradual deterioration in styling and workmanship is apparent, and the coins struck toward the end of Hetoum's reign are indeed barbaric in style and poor in workmanship when compared with the beautiful and carefully struck

⁴ Bedoukian, ANS Museum Notes, VIII, pp. 145-180, Pl. XXXIX.



coins of the first issues. The silver content of all the coins, however, is quite high, being of the order of 90 per cent, and the weight is uniformly around 3 grams.

The half trams are similar to the trams and fall into various groups, although they were not struck in great numbers. Only about fifty of these are listed, as against nearly two thousand trams. The majority of the half trams are of the artistic type and are listed in one group in order to facilitate their study.

The corpus is arranged according to the completeness of the obverse inscription in each group, with variations of the inscription of the reverse. The obverse inscription types are listed in the index.

The existence of a number of trams with the name LEVON instead of Hetoum is noteworthy. Most likely, these were struck shortly after Hetoum's death but before the die makers had time to prepare new designs for the coinage of the new king, Levon II.

The bilingual coins of Hetoum form a separate and distinct class. They bear Armenian letters on one side, Arabic on the other, and were struck during the reign of the Sultans of Konya—Kaikobad and Kaikhusraw (1236–1245) as a token of Hetoum's nominal acceptance of their suzerainty. The small number of these coins and the obvious care taken in their execution attest to the fact that they were struck to commemorate and comply with certain agreements.

The Hetoum-Kaikobad coins were probably issued from 1228–1236, and although they are well executed, they are less artistic than the coins of Hetoum-Kaikhusraw (1237–1245). The Hetoum-Kaikobad coins bear no date and were struck in Sis. The early issues of Hetoum-Kaikhusraw likewise are not dated and resemble somewhat in styling the Hetoum-Kaikobad coins. A marked change in styling in the direction of artistry took place in the year H. 637 and thereafter the Arabic side bore a date along with the sultan's name and the information that it was struck in Sis.

An attempt to classify the Hetoum-Kaikobad coins in chronological order by means of die sequences was unsuccessful because of insufficient material available. On examination of these coins, especially the dated Hetoum-Kaikhusraw coins, it became apparent that the same field marks continue with succeeding years, indicating that these field marks denote die-makers' marks rather than issues. In all ⁵ Bedoukian, ANS Museum Notes, VII, pp. 219-230, Pl. XXX.



the Hetoum-Kaikobad coins, the Armenian inscription is consistently LEPANT PUBLISH and this continues with the early issues of Hetoum-Kaikhusraw. Subsequently, this type as well as LEPANT PUBLISH appeared each year. In only a few instances, possibly because of an error on the part of the die-maker, is the full legend lacking.

The bilingual half trams are quite rare. Less than a dozen are listed in the corpus, as against 225 of the bilingual trams. They are all placed together to facilitate examination.

The copper coins of Hetoum have a wider range of types than those of Levon. The large ones, similar in size and weight to the tanks of Levon, show on the obverse the king seated on a throne adorned with lions, holding an orb or cross in the left hand and a staff shaped like a lily in the right. The throne design was later simplified and became a form of conventionalized lions, then merely two legs of a throne, and finally, a single post on each side. The four types are readily distinguishable from each other.

The smaller copper coins, being about half the weight of the tanks (NLP), have been called kardez (PLPSL2), by contemporary writers. 6,7 There are three types: the equestrian, which shows the king on horseback, and is somewhat similar in design to the bilingual coins but crudely executed, and two other types which are merely smaller versions of the tanks.

In his discussion on the copper coinage of Hetoum, Sibilian comes to a number of interesting conclusions. He notes that in the case of the tanks, the obverse is more or less uniform, whereas the reverse has different types of crosses of which he lists some fourteen varieties (the corpus lists additional ones). Sibilian further notes that the styling of the lettering is identical with the bilingual coins of Hetoum-Kaikobad. Also, the word PUPUPP is never spelled PUPUPP on the tanks of Hetoum, nor on the bilingual coins of Hetoum-Kaikobad. The similarity of the pecular shape of the letters 3 and 4 on these two classes of coins is striking, and the indication is unmistakable that they were the work of one die-maker. Sibilian also points out the similarity of styling and field marks between the equestrian copper coins and the Hetoum-Kaikobad silver trams. Again the word,



Langlois, Cartulaire, pp. 154-161.

¹ Assises d'Antioche, p. 61.

takavor, is invariably written **PUPUPIP**. It may thus be concluded that the large tanks and the equestrian kardez coins were the first issues, and belong to the period of Hetoum-Kaikobad.

The kardez where the king is seated on a bench-like throne—and of these there are many—bears a striking degree of similarity to the Hetoum-Kaikhusraw coins. The styling of the letters is identical and king is usually written as **PUPUMP**. The similarity and peculiarities of the letters **h**, **U**, **M** on the two classes are striking.

It thus appears that the large tanks were first struck along with the equestrian smaller coppers. These were followed by the small copper coins where the king is seated on a bench-like throne, and finally by the smaller coins which bear a design reminiscent of the tanks. The corpus of the copper coins is arranged in this order.

THE COINAGE OF LEVON II

The coins of Levon II show a uniformity in style both in the silver and copper coins.

On the silver coins, the obverse represents the king on horseback, wearing a crown and holding a sceptre, cross or mace in his right hand. The horse is always facing right, either galloping or walking. The design is apparently evolved from the equestrian coins of Hetoum. On the reverse there is a lion walking or standing in either direction, facing front. Above the lion there is a cross with varying designs.

The coins of Levon II represent a period of transition from that of the old trams of Levon I-Hetoum I, with their very high silver content of around 90 per cent, weighing about 3 grams, to the takvorin type, weighing about 2.5 grams and having a silver content of less than 60 per cent.

This gradual debasement within a short period of eighteen years, is obviously related to the political and economic conditions of the country. The comparatively few trams of Levon II, weighing about 3 grams and having a silver content of about 90 per cent, were most likely issued during the first year or two of his reign. Shortly thereafter, the country was ravaged by Baibars and it is probable that Levon decided to debase the coinage to about 2.8 grams weight, and about 80 per cent silver. The next group of coins, weighing around 2.6 grams, with a silver content of 60–70 per cent, belonged to the



latter part of his reign after the Mongol-Armenian defeat at Homs and the eventual payment of heavy annual tributes to Qalā'ūn.

Levon reigned for eighteen years and must have issued a very large number of coins for use in his extensive national and international commerce and for the huge tribute demanded by the Egyptians. It is therefore puzzling that relatively few of his coins are in existence today.

In the writer's opinion, it is possible that the constant debasement of Levon's coins made it difficult to use them in commercial transactions—coins struck at different periods varied considerably in real value. These coins may eventually have been melted to strike takvorins of more or less uniform weight.

Furthermore, Levon's successor, Hetoum II, did not issue silver coins, and in the course of their fratricidal struggles, Hetoum's brothers, Smpat and Gosdantin I, issued only a very small number of silver coins, while there are no coins from Toros. Consequently, from the time of the death of Levon II until the accession of Levon III to the throne in 1301, a period of twelve years, the silver currency in use was probably that of Levon II. These circumstances probably depleted the supply of coins issued by Levon II.

The silver coins are classified according to their inscription and styling. It is significant that in most of the heavier and high silver content coins, the lion on the reverse is facing left, and with few exceptions, the inscription reads, "Levon King of all the Armenians," "Lent Pupulph Withit Lubit Lubin." Most of the poorer coins have the lion facing right, and the inscription, in its various abbreviated forms, reads "Levon King of the Armenians," "Lehnt Pupulph Lubin."

It is also to be noted that where the inscription contains the word all, **UNTERL**, the king's name is spelled Leon **LENE**, whereas it is always written as Levon (**LENNE**) on the other coins. This may of course be due to an effort to have more space for the longer inscription.

Some of the high silver content coins exhibit considerable artistic merit in their styling and execution. The low silver content coins are somewhat poorly made, indicating the necessity of issuing large numbers under pressure.

In the corpus the trams are arranged in the usual order, based on the completeness of the inscription on the obverse, with the reverse variations. Since the coins with the longer inscription and the lion



turned left are of a much higher silver content, they are listed first, followed by coins of the transitional period, and finally by the coins having a lower silver content and the lion turned right. As in the case of the two previous monarchs, there is again a gradual deterioration in styling and workmanship, and also a debasement in the weight and silver content of the coinage.

It is curious that only two specimens of half trams have survived. There is another one which is struck with a half tram die on the obverse and a full tram die on the reverse. The remainder, numbering about thirty, are half tram blanks struck with tram dies. The only way of indicating their type in the corpus was by relating them to the tram types.

Basmadjian⁸ mentions the existence of numerous half trams, 8 mm. in diameter, belonging to this monarch. These coins are not known to the writer, nor are they mentioned in Sibilian's book.

The copper coins of Levon are about the same size, or slightly smaller than the small coppers of Hetoum I. The lion is walking left and is not facing as in the case of the silver coins. On the obverse, the king's name is spelled either LbAt or LbhAt as on the silver coins. On the reverse, the usual inscription is ThibUL I FULLET I UPU but on a small number of coins the word LUSBUL is used instead of the usual ThibUL. The latter is the more vulgar term and means more nearly, "made," whereas the former is the correct term for "struck." It is also curious that the lion is sometimes on the obverse and sometimes on the reverse of the coin.

The copper coins are badly struck and many of them had to be excluded from the corpus simply because it was impossible to decipher the legend. As Sibilian has pointed out, the copper coins were struck for internal trade and did not require the same degree of care in execution as the silver coins which were used in international trade and for payment of indemnities. The latter, therefore, had to be of acceptable quality.

The great majority of the copper coins of Levon II have one type of cross on the reverse, whereas the copper coins of his two predecessors exhibited many types of cross designs on the reverse. No large copper coins—tanks—were struck by this monarch or by any of his successors. In a few rare cases, the lion is walking right instead of left.

8 Basmadjian, Num. Générale de l'Arménie, p. 158.



THE COINAGE OF HETOUM II

In spite of his long, intermittent reign, Hetoum did not issue silver coins. There are a small number of billons from him, resembling the Crusader billons in size and workmanship. He did, however, strike a large number of copper coins. As mentioned previously, Hetoum preferred the life of the monastery and did not wish to be consecrated king. This fact may serve as an explanation of the lack of silver coins from this monarch.

The billons are only 15 mm. in diameter, weighing less than one gram. Since there is insufficient space for a complete inscription, the full wording, LEPANT PUNTURE LUBINE is broken into LEPANT PUNTURE LUBINE On the obverse, and UNITERIAL LUBINE On the reverse, and the lettering is usually incomplete. On the obverse, the head of the king is shown, wearing a crown, and on the reverse, a cross with various field marks.

The copper coins are of two main types, and were probably struck at different periods. In view of the fact that the copper coins gradually decreased in weight with succeeding kings, it is likely that the slightly heavier type was an earlier issue.

The heavier coins show on the obverse the king's head, crowned, facing, and are rather poorly executed, with considerable variations in the styling of the head. On the reverse, there is a decorated cross, very much like the ones seen on the coins of the Latin kings of Constantinople.

The other type of copper coin shows on the reverse the king seated in oriental fashion, wearing a crown and holding a staff in the right hand. On the reverse is the Greek cross, with slight variations in design.

Although Hetoum's brother, Toros, was entrusted with managing the affairs of the land for over two years, Toros was not crowned king and ruled simply as the king's representative. It is for this reason that



no coins were struck bearing the name of Toros. Of the three instances where a coin of Toros is mentioned, the lettering of the coin mentioned by Sestini⁹, is so worn that it bears no resemblance to the word, Toros. De Saulcy's¹⁰ representation of a Toros coin is also of very uncertain inscription. There remains the third specimen, which Langlois¹¹ says he saw while travelling through Cilician Armenia, with the inscription clearly legible as PAPAN PURAN 2UBAB and on the reverse, Tribull PURAN PULLED In view of the fact that no coins of Toros have been definitely identified, it must be assumed that Langlois may have been mistaken in his reading of the inscription on the so-called "PAPAN" coin.

THE COINAGE OF SMPAD

As mentioned earlier, while Hetoum and Toros were away visiting their sister, the Empress Rita of Byzantium, Smpad took advantage of their absence and declared himself King. In order to consolidate his claim, he visited the Khan and obtained his consent. At the same time, he issued silver and copper coins bearing his name.

The silver coins of Smpad are rare, and this led Sibilian to speculate that they were melted at a later date in order to erase the memory of the rebel king. The silver coins are reminiscent of the ones issued by Levon I, perhaps in an obvious effort to declare the legitimacy of his claim.

On the obverse, the king is seated on a throne decorated with lions and is holding a cross with the right hand, a mace with the left. On the reverse is the usual Levon I design of two lions rampant regardant and the cross between them. The inscription is also similar to Levon's, with the exception of the use of the name Smpad.

The copper coins of Smpad are common and considerably smaller than the coppers issued by previous monarchs. They are all of one type with the exception of variations in the inscription. On the obverse the king is on horseback walking right and holding a mace in his right hand. On the reverse there is the usual Greek cross with four lilies or doves in flight in the four corners.

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9 Sestini, Livorno, 1779, III, p. 147, Table III, No. 11.
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¹⁰ Saulcy, Num. de Croisade, p. 174, Pl. XIX, 7.

¹¹ Langlois, Num. de l'Arménie au moyen âge, p. 69, Pl. II, No. 12.

THE COINAGE OF GOSDANTIN I

As Gosdantin reigned for less than a year, it is not surprising that he struck only a limited number of coins, and these are extremely rare. They are of great numismatic interest because of the beauty and originality of their designs and the unusual inscriptions attesting to the fact that Gosdantin was now the king. It is also interesting that he struck two different types of gold coins. These are discussed in the chapter on gold coins.

The silver coins of Gosdantin are also extremely rare, there being only twelve in existence. On the obverse, the king is on horseback holding a sword, with the inscription "ANUSULTABLENU PUAM" LUB and its variations. On the reverse, the king is standing and holding the cross with the left hand, the sword with the right, and the inscription reads: "ULPMINAPPL UB & PUAM" (By the will of God he is King), perhaps declaring that with the sword and cross he has become king and is the lord of the city of Sis.

Gosdantin's copper coins are also very rare. On the obverse the king is shown standing and holding the cross in his left hand, the sword in his right, as on the silver coins, with a similar inscription. On the reverse, there is again the usual Greek cross with the inscription Thirly PULLIFY UPU L.

THE COINAGE OF LEVON III

The relatively short reign of Levon III accounts for the comparatively small number of coins left by him, although they are by no means scarce.

The silver coins are of one type, representing the king on horseback, facing and walking right, holding a staff in his right hand. Various field marks, often consisting of letters, distinguish the different issues. On the reverse there is the usual lion walking right but not facing, with a cross above the lion. Numerous variations of the inscriptions LELAGE PUPULAGE AUBURATE PUPULAGE PUPULAGE AUBURATE PUPULAGE AUBURATE PUPULAGE PUP

The silver coins of Levon III exhibit marked deterioration, both in weight and in silver content—coins weighing 2.3 grams and having less than 50 per cent silver are quite common. The styling is also poorer than that of the earlier kings but the workmanship is fair and definitely superior to that of later kings.



The copper coins also show a definite reduction in size, and although the lettering indicates some care in the preparation of the dies, most of the coins are so poorly struck that only rarely does one find a copper coin properly struck and in a good state of preservation.

On the obverse the king is seated oriental fashion, crowned and holding a staff in the right hand, a cross in the left hand, similar to the copper coins of Hetoum II. On the reverse is a Greek cross with a number of variations in design.

Again as with the copper coins of Hetoum II, in some cases the inscription on both sides is Lbhni PUPULAN 2UBNB, although it is generally incomplete. In others, the reverse inscription is Thibul Pupulant Pupul.

All of the silver coins of Levon III are takvorins, and slight variations in size should be attributed to the gradual debasement of the coinage which continued to occur until the fall of the kingdom.

Basmadjian¹² mentions half trams of Levon III. Nevertheless, no half trams belonging to this king have come to our attention and it is possible that Basmadjian may have had in mind some of the smaller sized trams.

THE COINAGE OF OSHIN

Since Oshin reigned for over 12 years, it is not surprising to find a large variety of coins of this period. A rare type of coin shows on the obverse the king seated on a throne almost identical in design to the coins of Levon I, except that it has a field mark which appears to be a hand blessing the king, and another field mark like an E found commonly on the coins of Levon III. On the reverse is a cross flanked by two lions similar to the coins of Levon I. Except for the name of the king, the inscription is also similar to the coins of Levon I. As Sibilian points out, these coins show great artistic care in their execution and since there are very few in existence, they were probably struck in the first year or so as coronation coins, and possibly the design was chosen to impress upon the people that he was the successor of the great King Levon.

The remainder of the multitude of silver coins of Oshin are smaller and of poorer design, and in appearance resemble those of his prede-

¹² Basmadjian, Num. Générale de l'Arménie, p. 168.



cessor Levon III. On the obverse, the king is on horseback, facing and walking right. The field marks are mostly letters or combinations of letters. The various designs obviously indicate different issues. On the reverse, there is again the usual lion walking right with a cross in the field. The inscription presents some novel features in that for the first time, aside from the words **Tribll**, **Tribll** or **Tribl**, we come across a new variation, namely **Trible**. This variation appears only on the coins of Oshin, so that it is possible to ascribe any silver coin to Oshin if it bears the word **Trible**, even though the rest of the inscription, including the king's name, is not legible.

Although Sibilian indicates that there was a further decrease in the size and silver titre of Oshin's coins as compared with those of Levon III, metrological studies show that in general, the coinage of Oshin was slightly superior to that of his predecessor, both in weight and in silver content. This may have been the result of more stable political conditions in the country during his reign.

As in the case of Levon III, no half trams of Oshin are known to be in existence. Basmadjian mentions a report¹³ on a well-preserved half tram of Oshin, and judging from the description, this was a half tram of the coronation type. It is unfortunate that this single specimen has been lost and no others have been discovered.

There are a number of takvorins of Oshin with an Arabic surcharge. Since most of the coins having a surcharge belong to Levon IV, it is quite possible that some of Oshin's coins fell into the hands of the Arabs, along with the coins of Levon IV, and were surcharged for circulation in Arab countries.

The copper coins of Oshin are definitely of a different type from the coppers of the previous kings. They are very small, weighing only 1.3-1.5 grams, and are thus easily distinguishable from the copper coins of the preceding rulers. While the coppers of Levon I and the larger coppers of Hetoum I are designated as PULS (tank), and the succeeding smaller coppers as PULS (kardez), the copper coins beginning with Oshin represent a third class known as PULS).

On the obverse of all the copper coins, the king is seated on a throne holding a lily in one hand and a cross in the left hand, very much as in the silver coins of Levon I. The inscription UFCFL ¹³ Basmadjian, ibid., p. 171. Reference to an article by H. Habeshian in the weekly Armenian Paper Azadamard, 1911, No. 34, p. 544.



PUPULATE SUBTIB is usually incomplete. On the reverse, there is always a Greek cross, often with various field marks. As in the case of the common silver coins, we have the inscriptions Thible, Thible, Thible etc. Because of their small size, few of the copper poghs of Oshin have survived, and these usually in very poor condition.

THE COINAGE OF LEVON IV

The silver coins of Levon IV show considerable similarity to those of his father, Oshin. The styling, poor workmanship, and type of lettering are so much like the coins of Oshin that were it not for the difference in the king's name, it would be difficult to distinguish one from the other. Here again, on the obverse there are various combinations of letters which probably indicate different issues. Although the coins of Levon IV are somewhat similar to the earlier Levon III, the coins of these two kings can be readily distinguished as the former are definitely smaller and also bear letters as field marks on the obverse.

Metrological studies indicate that there was about a ten-per-cent decrease in the weight of the coins from Oshin to Levon IV, with probably little change in the silver content.

It appears that the dies were used for as long as possible since there are very few coins on which the full writing is legible. On most of the coins, only part of the letters are visible, but so long as the field marks are clear, it is possible to classify them. The inscriptions are fairly uniform—on the obverse, <code>lbhnt</code> <code>PUPULHOP</code> <code>ZUBNB</code> or <code>lbhnt</code> <code>PUPULHOP</code> <code>ZUBNB</code>, and on the reverse, <code>Thubul</code> <code>PPUQUFU</code> <code>PUPU</code>, the word Sis usually appearing in an abbreviated form.

Because of his relatively long reign, Levon IV issued a large number of coins. Approximately one-third of the coins examined by the author were in such poor condition that they could not be placed in the corpus. A considerable number of coins of Levon IV bear an Arabic surcharge and could not be included because of the obliteration of the field marks. These were probably part of the tribute paid to the Egyptians.

The copper coins of Levon IV, called $\phi n \gamma$ (pogh) are about the same size and type as those of Oshin, weighing around 1.3 to 1.5 grams. On the obverse, the king is seated on a throne or a divan, holding a



cross with the left hand and a mace with the right. With the exception of a few rare coppers of one type, all of these copper coins are approximately 17–18 mm. in diameter. On the reverse there is always a Greek cross, usually plain, but at times, decorated.

The inscription, seldom complete, is Lthur Punuhur 20818 on the obverse, and on the reverse, Thirl (or Thibul) h fullufic h UhU.

THE COINAGE OF GUY LUSIGNAN

During his short reign of two years, Guy had little time to issue coins in large numbers. Consequently, his silver coins are quite rare, and there are only two copper coins in existence.

The silver coins are similar to those of Oshin or Levon IV. On the obverse, the king is on horseback, facing and walking right, and holding a mace in his right hand. In the field there is usually a circle or a dot. The inscription generally reads 4h PUPUNIT LUBIS. On the reverse, the lion is walking right and above in the field there is the usual cross. The inscription is as usual Thibull h PUPU which is seldom complete.

The copper coins of Guy are almost identical with those of Levon IV and it would be impossible to distinguish them from each other were it not for the king's name. On the obverse, the king is seated on a throne holding a cross in one hand, and fleurs de lys in the other. On the reverse, there is a cross, usually ornamented. The inscription is similar to the one on the silver coins.

THE COINAGE OF GOSDANTIN III

Until quite recently, it was not possible to distinguish between the coins of Gosdantin III and his successor, Gosdantin IV, since both the inscription and the appearance of the coins of these two kings were similar. Sibilian, in his classic treatise, is very indefinite and uncertain about the identification of the coins of these two kings and ascribes only a few coins of considerable rarity to Gosdantin III who ruled for nineteen years, and the balance to Gosdantin IV who ruled for only eight years.

Metrological studies of the coins of these two kings showed that they could be divided into two distinct classes, 14 those having specific 14 Bedoukian, ANS Museum Notes VI, pp. 193-199 Pl. XX.



gravities of over 9.50 and those having specific gravities under 9.30. Further examination of these two classes of coins indicated clearly that the ones with lower specific gravity, being more debased coins, belonged to the later king. Data obtained from a hoard and certain historical facts substantiate this method of identification based on specific gravity determinations.¹⁵

The coins of Gosdantin III are rather poorly made, and their low silver content often gives them a greyish appearance. The usual design shows on the obverse the king on horseback, facing and walking right, holding a mace with the right hand. On the reverse, a lion is walking right with a cross in the field above the lion. The field marks serve to distinguish the coins of Gosdantin III from those of Gosdantin IV. In the former, on the obverse there are circles, dots, letters or an L shaped sign, while the reverse usually has dots, at times letters, and often no marks. In the case of Gosdantin IV, both the obverse and the reverse have either L or S shaped signs. The coins of Gosdantin III never have both an S on the obverse and an L or S on the reverse.

While the inscription on the obverse of the coins of Gosdantin III is an abbreviation of 4nusurph pupulant sugars and the reverse bears an abbreviated form of Tribul pupulate pupul (or surunt), the reverse inscription of Gosdantin IV is much more uniform, being Tribul (or Tribul, Tribul) pupulate pupul, almost always complete, though very badly executed.

The reverse inscription on some of the Gosdantin III coins to the effect that they were struck in Tarsus (Armenian Darson) is of interest as it indicates that a mint existed in that city. Only on these few coins do we find the inscription, "Struck in the city of Tarsus." The majority of the coins of this kingdom carry the inscription, "Struck in the city of Sis." The question therefore arises as to whether the Tarsus mint existed previously and whether some of the coins of the earlier kings were struck there even though they do not so state.

Aside from these debased silver coins, Gosdantin struck some copper coins also, but, unfortunately, very few of these are in existence. In styling and appearance, these copper coins are very similar to the coins of Oshin and Levon IV.

A copper coin of Gosdantin III struck in Tarsus is found in Sibilian, Classification of Roupenian Coins, p. 57.



the Hermitage museum. This specimen indicates that both silver and copper coins were struck in the Tarsus mint. Recently, a second specimen from the same die came into the author's possession.

THE COINAGE OF LEVON THE USURPER

As pointed out by Sibilian,¹⁵ and later by Garabetian,¹⁶ the coins of Guy, Gosdantin and Levon the Usurper, because of their styling and inscriptions, can be grouped under one period.

All of the silver coins are of one type, with the usual inscription lbunc fusual freeze, on the obverse and the full freeze, with the customary variations and abbreviations. On the obverse, the king is on horseback facing and walking right, holding a mace in his right hand. On the reverse, there is a lion walking right. The lion usually has hairy legs or a hairy mane, a design characteristic of the lions of Guy and of Gosdantin III, but not of Gosdantin IV.

A rare type of takvorin of Levon the Usurper has the inscription LULING PUPULM 2UBIB on both sides.

Metrological data show that while the coins of Levon IV weigh around 2.3-2.45 grams, those of Levon the Usurper weigh 2.0 to 2.3 grams. It is significant that the coins of Guy and Gosdantin III are in the range of 1.9-2.2 grams. One might comment that perhaps usurpers took greater pains in the execution of their coins than did legitimately instituted kings.

Sibilian¹⁵ describes a hoard of 120 coins found in 1874 between Cilicia and Konya, consisting of:

11 coins of Oshin

36 coins of Levon IV

17 coins with the inscription Lbune

4 coins of Guy

47 coins of Gosdantin III

He comments that the coins with the inscription Lount have a circle and on careful examination and comparison with the coins of Gosdantin III, it becomes apparent that they are the work of the same die maker. The difference in appearance and styling of the letters from those of Levon IV is discussed. Sibilian concludes that these Lount coins must be contemporary of the Gosdantins. These ¹⁶ Garabetian, Pazmaveb, 1952, p. 167.



were indeed remarkable observations and indicate the keenness of Sibilian's mind. It was, however, impossible for Sibilian to accept the theory of the rule of a king by the name of Levon between 1363–1365 because of the lack of sufficient historical evidence in his time.

Garabetian¹⁶ ascribes all the coins with the inscription lbunt to Levon the Usurper.

This opinion has been substantiated by metrological data obtained by the author. There seems to be little doubt that these coins can be attributed to Levon who reigned for approximately two years.

While the copper coins of Gosdantin III continue the size and design of those of his predecessors, Levon the Usurper did not issue these small copper coins. Instead, he appears to have employed dies similar to the ones used in the silver coinage. This is the first time that silver coin type dies were used to strike copper coins, and this practice continued during the reign of his successor, Gosdantin IV. The copper coins can be distinguished from the silver coins not only by their metallic content but also by the field marks. All of the copper coins in existence have the letter ρ as a field mark.

Sibilian²⁰ attributes these copper coins to Levon V Lusignan. Since they bear no resemblance to the copper coins of this last king, and are similar in appearance and styling to the coins of Levon the Usurper and also his successor, there is no reason to ascribe them to Levon V.

Sibilian has listed these copper coins as being silver. While it is true that some of them have a greyish appearance possibly due to the admixture of other metals with copper, scratching them with a knife and taking their specific gravity established the fact that they are copper.

THE COINAGE OF GOSDANTIN IV

As mentioned previously, the coins of this king bear considerable resemblance to those of Gosdantin III. It is now possible to definitely identify both of these by their inscriptions and field marks.

It is rather surprising that a considerable number of the coins of Gosdantin IV have survived. The kingdom was limited to a very small area, but apparently fairly large numbers of coins were struck in order to pay the tribute constantly demanded by the enemy. The



royal treasury was most likely in possession of considerable wealth,¹⁷ and was able to buy peace temporarily by payment of tribute in Armenian currency.

On the obverse of the coins, the king is as usual on horseback, facing and walking right. In his right hand he holds a mace. On the reverse, there is a lion walking right and a cross above the lion in the field. The inscription on the obverse shows considerable variation in the spelling of 4nusurph pupulate pupulate form, being thickly (or thick, thick) is surprisingly uniform, being thickly (or thick, thick) in complete form. Such complete inscriptions are seldom to be found on the coins of Gosdantin III.

Perhaps the simplest way of distinguishing the coins of the two kings is to examine the field marks. Those of Gosdantin IV have an L or S mark on both the obverse and reverse of the coins. On the obverse the mark is usually under the king's horse and on the reverse, under the lion's feet.

The styling and workmanship of the coins are quite poor. Because of their low silver content—less than half silver—the coins are usually greyish in appearance.

Gosdantin IV followed the practice of Levon the Usurper in striking copper coins with dies similar to the type used for silver coins, with the field mark P. Most of the copper coins are poor specimens and it is quite likely that because of their appearance few have been saved or collected.

The copper coins without the field mark P resemble the silver takvorins so closely in design and styling that there is little doubt that both belong to the same monarch.

THE COINAGE OF LEVON V LUSIGNAN

Leo Lusignan entered Cilicia at Gorigos on April 2, 1374, reached Sis on July 26, 1374, was crowned king on September 14, 1374, and surrendered his kingdom on April 16, 1375.

It will be seen from this that his total stay in Sis was less than nine

¹⁷ Dardel (p. 147) mentions that when Levon V surrendered, the royal treasury contained precious stones and two crowns valued at half a million gold tahegans. This report, possibly exaggerated, indicates that the royal treasury was not empty.





months, and he was king for only seven months. It is interesting that while Dardel¹⁸ mentions that Levon ruled for seven months, two Armenian historians¹⁹ state that he reigned for eleven months—possibly considering him as the lawful ruler from the day of his entry into Cilicia.

It is not to be expected that in this brief period of time Levon had much opportunity to design and strike coins. He undoubtedly did issue some coins for use in commercial transactions as he had to pay tribute to the enemy with the coins remaining in the royal treasury.

Only about thirty-five coins of Levon V are known, and of these, ten are silver and were often called billons. The billons weigh less than a gram, and the copper coins about one gram, making them the smallest coins struck during the entire history of the kingdom.

The surviving specimens indicate that a variety of types were struck. Undoubtedly, their small size has contributed to their disappearance.

It is curious that on the billons we not only have the usual inscription <code>lbhfil</code> <code>PUH-Uhfif</code> <code>2UBfi8</code>, but also <code>lbhfil</code> <code>PUHUhfif</code>—
<code>4Uffil</code> <code>AUFULHIF</code>—
<code>4Uffil</code> <code>AUFULHIF</code>—
<code>4Uffil</code> <code>AUFULHIF</code> <code>2UBfil</code>. The title, "Levon, King of all the Armenians," seems hardly appropriate for one who ruled a small town and its environs for such a short period. The title "King of <code>all</code> the Armenians" appears only on the coins of Levon I and Levon II.

The design on the obverse of the billons represents the king's head, somewhat reminiscent of Hetoum's billons, and on the reverse there is the usual Greek cross with its variations.

The copper coins have on the obverse a lion, which as Sibilian²⁰ has pointed out, resembles the lion of Cyprus rather than the Armenian lion on earlier coins. The obverse has the usual inscription LENGL PUBLING AUGUST.

AUGUST.

PUBLIST.

PUBLI



¹⁸ Dardel, p. 707.

¹⁹ Rec. Croisades, Documents Arméniens, Vol. 1, p. 685. See also Basmadjian, Leo V Lusignan, p. 52.

²⁰ Sibilian, Classification of Roupenian Coins, p. 71.

FORGERIES

Surprisingly few instances of forgeries of Roupenian coins have been reported in the past. The lack of information about these coins, coupled with a limited demand, probably made forgeries financially unattractive.

One of the earliest known forgeries is a coin of Levon I which bears a number of characters on the reverse indicating a date. Although none of the Roupenian coins showed dates, the possibility that these letters represented a date was the subject of considerable speculation by early writers. 1,2,3,4 There are three specimens of this forgery, all from the same mold, although due to difficulties in casting, they appear somewhat different on first glance. Sibilian pointed out that these coins were cast and not struck, and were in appearance obvious forgeries.

Another forgery of Levon I is a copper coin which the editor of Sibilian's book represents as a different type of coin. This coin, of which there are three specimens in the Mehkitarian Museums of Vienna and Venice, is so different from all the other copper coins that it is obviously a forgery struck with a very crudely made die. There are two varieties of this curious coin.

Because of the increased interest in Armenian coins, a large number of forgeries of Levon I trams have recently appeared on the market. These have apparently been struck with a die and then flattened between rollers to give the coin a very flat surface. Their general appearance, the lack of height in the letters, etc., make the identification of these forgeries a simple matter.

Of more serious concern to the public are forgeries of gold coins which have been offered for sale in the past few years. A jeweller in Antakya, Turkey, has apparently made a die of a Levon I type of



¹ Cappelletti, p. 180.

² Kraft, Plate.

³ Langlois, Num. de l'Arménie au moyen âge, p. 43.

⁴ Sibilian, Classification of Roupenian coins, p. 11.

coin, and has been striking gold coins and some silver coins with it. Eight gold and two silver coins struck with this die have come to the attention of the writer who now has one of each in his possession. The workmanship of this die is good but to the trained eye the styling is unlike that of the Roupenian coins. The obverse is well done, although the king is slightly off center and to the right. The reverse is much poorer—the lions lack the naturalness of the genuine coins and the inscription is wholly different from the common types. In addition, while the gold coins of Levon I weigh between 5.5 and 6.5 grams, the weight of the forgeries is around 2.5 grams, thus being less than that of the silver coins. A close examination of some of these coins revealed signs of filing of the high points of the letters in the legend.

It is interesting that all of these forgeries are of Levon I coins. The explanation may lie in the fact that more is known about the coins of this popular king than about those of the succeeding rulers.

One might add that it is rather difficult to pass forgeries of Roupenian coins as genuine, if for no other reason than the fact that the appearance of several coins from the same dies would immediately arouse suspicion. In a collection not forming part of a hoard, the chances of finding two coins from the same dies are very small indeed. In the writer's collection of several hundred Hetoum-Zabel trams, there is only one instance of two coins struck from the same dies.

A SURVEY OF REPORTED COLLECTIONS OF ROUPENIAN COINS

It is difficult to keep abreast of collections not in public institutions, as private collections are not well reported and are very often dispersed without a permanent record.

When writing his treatise, Brosset¹ studied about sixty coins in Russian and French collections. He specifically mentioned the following:

Musée asiatique de l'Académie et l'Institut asiatique du departement des affaires étrangères, à St. Pétersbourg.

Cabinet des médailles, Paris

Collection of Duc de Blacas, Paris

Collection of Mr. Reichel in St. Petersbourg

The plates in Brosset's publication were from the Russian collections.

Shortly thereafter, Kraft² published a very interesting account of the coins found in Vienna. These included:

29 coins in Münz- und Antiken Kabinette, Vienna

23 coins belonging to Father Timoni³

7 coins found in the Mekhitarist Museum in Vienna

Some ten years later, in 1850, Langlois⁴ gave a more extensive list of collections:

Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale

Collection Marquis de Lagoy, Aix

Duc de Blacas

Baron Chaudruc de Crazannes of Castel Sarrazin

Mekhitarian collection. Venice

Mekhitarian collection, Vienna

² Kraft, pp. 1-29.



¹ Brosset, Monographie des Monnaies Arméniennes, p. 45.

² Father Timoni's collection is now in the Vienna Mekhitarian collection. See Sibilian, p. XVI.

⁴ Langlois, Revue Archéologique, 1850, p. 268.

The Royal Museum in Vienna

The Royal Museum in Berlin

The British Museum

Hermitage Museum in St. Petersbourg

Reichel Collection in St. Petersbourg

Lord Ainsley's collection in Constantinople

The collection of Borrel in Smyrna (Izmir)

Langlois comments that the Russian collections are very rich.

Writing in 1877, Sibilian⁵ stated that he had examined the following collections:

Mekhitarian collection in Vienna (700 pieces)

Mekhitarian collection in Venice

Royal Museum in Vienna

Royal Museum in Berlin

Museum of St. Petersbourg

Museum of Florence

Collection of the Duc de Blacas

A private collection in Constantinople⁶

Sibilian adds that the number of Roupenian coins which he examined reached three thousand, the greater portion of which apparently belonged to the Mekhitarist Museum in Vienna and the private collection in Constantinople.

Father Kalemkiarian, who edited Sibilian's book and made numerous additions to it, mentioned the following collections existing in 1892:

Mekhitarian collection in Vienna

Mekhitarian collection in Venice

Royal Museum in Vienna

Royal Museum in Berlin

Musee des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris

Museum of the Duke of Gotha

⁵ Sibilian, Classification of Roupenian Coins, p. XVI.

- ⁶ For some reason, throughout Sibilian's book, the "noted numismatist" is mentioned without giving his name. The person referred to was Serovpe M. Alishan, the brother of the noted author of the monumental work, Sissouan, Cilician Armenia. He was apparently a well-known collector, and judging from the remarks made by Sibilian, must have had a collection numbering in the hundreds.
- ⁷ See Sibilian, Classification of Roupenian Coins, p. 6.



British Museum

Asiatic Museum in St. Petersbourg

Museum of Echmiadsin in Armenia

Museum of the Armenian Monastery in Jerusalem

Schlumberger collection⁸

The collection of an Armenian numismatist⁶

The first and the last two were apparently the most important collections known.

The next list of collections was mentioned by Basmadjian⁹ in 1936, consisting of the following:

Armenian library in Constantinople

Collection of Adrbed in Leninaken (Armenia)

Collection of A. Pachajian in Paris¹⁰

Collection of Hovhannesian in Paris¹¹

Berlin State Museum

British Museum

Collection of Kalebjian Brothers in Paris¹²

State Museum in Cairo

Musée des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris

State Museum in Erivan, Armenia

Museum of the Armenian Monastery in Jerusalem

Collection of M. Mooradian¹³

Museum of Echmiadsin in Armenia

Collection of J. Matossian in Cairo¹⁴

Injoujian Brothers collection in Paris¹⁵

The private collection of the King of Italy

Asiatic Museum in Leningrad

Hermitage Museum in Leningrad

Collection of G. H. Basmadjian in Paris¹⁶

Museum of Constantinople (Istanbul)

Museum of Kiev

Kremlin Museum (Moscow)

Collection of H. Habeshian in Paris¹⁷



⁸ The important Schlumberger collection is now in the Musée des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale.

⁹ Basmadjian, Num. Générale de l'Arménie, p. 24.

^{10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20} As far as can be ascertained, none of these collections is now in existence.

Collection of M. Eretzian in Aleppo, Syria¹⁸

Collection of Mutafoff in Paris¹⁹

Collection of Der Ghazarian in Aleppo, Syria²⁰

Collection of the Catholicos Sahag of Sis, now in Lebanon

Mekhitarist Museum in Vienna

Mekhitarist Museum in Venice

Vienna Museum

Kelekian collection in Paris²¹

Since 1936, there has been little change in the collections of public institutions, but a number of very important private collections have been acquired. The corpus of this book is based on the following collections, in decreasing order of specimens listed.

Mekhitarist Museum in Vienna

The author's collection in New York

A. Donabedian collection in Beirut, Lebanon

Mardikian Museum in Beirut, Lebanon

Mekhitarist Museum in Venice

Musee des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris

The Archeological Museum in Istanbul

A. Poladian collection in Beirut, Lebanon

H. Kurdian collection in Wichita, Kansas

The American Numismatic Society's collection in New York

K. Kalajian collection in New York

A. Achdjian collection in Paris

British Museum

Mme. N. Kapamadji's collection in Paris

K. Baghdadlian collection in Cannes, France

Hermitage Museum in Leningrad

Asiatic Museum in Leningrad

Part of the Erivan State Museum collection in Armenia

J. Guevrekian collection in New York

The collection of Prof. A. A. Ebeyan, Beirut, Lebanon



¹⁸ This collection is now in the State Museum of Armenia (Erivan). See Garabetian, *Pazmaveb*, 1952, p. 156.

²¹ This exceedingly important collection of the famous antique dealer, Kelekian Khan, was given to the writer for a nominal sum by his son, Mr. D. Kelekian. I wish to take this opportunity to thank Mr. Kelekian for his generosity in encouraging my study of the coinage of this period.

In addition to the above-mentioned collections, the writer has had the opportunity of examining the collections or rubbings of the following:

Ashmolean collection in Oxford, England

Nicholas Jamgochian Collection, Los Angeles, California

- K. Khantamour collection in Hollywood, California
- C. Tarzian collection in Union City, New Jersey

Armenian Patriarchate collection in Jerusalem

- H. Hazarian collection in New York
- L. Keshishian collection in New York
- T. Amirian collection in Boston, Mass.

The following collections are known to exist but were not available for examination. They are therefore not included in the corpus.

An important private collection in Damascus, Syria

Part of the coins in the State Museum of Erivan, Armenia

Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna

Part of the A. Poladian collection in Beirut, Lebanon



METROLOGY

The Roupenian dynasty started with an ambitious system of coinage in both copper and silver, the latter being of three denominations: double trams (5.5 gms.), trams (2.9 gms.), and half trams (1.5 gms.). This system apparently proved impractical. The double trams were dropped first, and eventually, as the coinage deteriorated, the half trams were also abandoned.

The trams thus became the main silver currency of this dynasty, and their gradual debasement is graphically presented in Graph I. It will be seen that a stable coinage existed during the period of Levon I and Hetoum-Zabel. While these rulers were only two of the fourteen monarchs who issued coins, their reign covered a period of seventy-four years (1196–1270), as against a total of one hundred and seventy-nine years (1196–1375), the duration of the Roupenian dynasty as a kingdom. Moreover, as it was the most prosperous period of the kingdom, the coins are not only of uniform weight but also have a uniformly high silver content. Of the 7886 silver coins mentioned in the corpus, some 5925 belong to these two rulers.

It is seen that the silver coins of Levon I and Hetoum-Zabel were nearly 3.0 grams in weight and contained 90 per cent silver. During the reign of Levon II, there was a decline to about 2.6 grams and 70 per cent silver. The rebel kings, Smpad and Gosdantin I, apparently raised the standards appreciably, but since they struck only a small number of coins, this constituted but a feeble attempt to maintain the former standards. Thereafter, the coins gradually decreased in weight from 2.5 grams to 2.0 grams, and the silver content from 50-60 per cent to less than 40 per cent during the reign of Gosdantin IV.

A somewhat similar situation exists in the copper coinage. The large tanks of Levon I and Hetoum I (7.2 grams) soon gave way to the smaller kardez of Hetoum I, Levon II (4.5 grams), followed by another decline in weight (3.5 grams) during the period of Hetoum II. Thereafter, the copper coinage was further reduced in size to poghs



(about 2.0 grams) and continued declining until towards the end of the dynasty, the weight was I gram or less.

The determination of the silver content of the trams by taking their specific gravity is at best approximate and admittedly subject to error, but it does give a satisfactory overall picture. In making these determinations, the obviously corroded specimens or those subjected to fire, etc., were not used, and it is probable that a graph based on actual chemical analysis would result in a similar curve. The error is undoubtedly greater in the later coins because, judging from their appearance, they contain metals other than silver and copper. It is important to keep this in mind since the method used in assigning the silver content was on the assumption that the coins were made entirely of a mixture of silver and copper.

With few exceptions, the coins used in metrological studies were from the author's own collection. As this collection is a rather large one (over 1300 pieces) gathered over a period of years, it represents the average condition of the coinage of the period under consideration.

	NO. OF	V	VEIGH	T	NO. OF	SILVE	ER CO	NTENT
TYPE OF COIN	SPECI-	HIGH	LOW	AVER.	SPECI-	HIGH	Low	AVER.
	MENS				MENS			
		_		_				
		L	EVON	1				
Double trams	5	5.55	5.56	5.46	5	98	84	95
Half double tram	14	2.88	2.45	2.69	9	93	83	89
Half trams	5	1.32	1.06	1.25	2	98	86	92
Coronation	5	2.88	2.66	2.80	4	98	83	8 9
L. <i>Թ. ԱՄԵՆ Հ</i> .	9	2.91	2.54	2.84	3	94	81	89
L. <i>Թ. ՀԱՅՈ8</i>	18	3.20	2.52	2.98	5	94	7 9	87
ኒ. <i>Թ. ረԱՑՑ</i>	4	3.00	2.53	2.83	I	88	_	85
<i>ኒ</i> ԵՒՆ Թ. Հ.	8	3.03	2.85	2.96	4	96	83	90
<i>ኒ. </i>	9	3.04	2.46	2.76	3	95	82	90
<i>ኒ. </i>	25	3.17	2.42	2.82	10	96	75	87
Ĺ. <i>Թ. ՀԱՑԱՍՑ</i>	9	3.05	2.79	2.91	I	88	_	88
L. P. ZUBNBN	4	2.93	2.78	2.85	3	90	82	87
L. P. 2. (Foot turned		3.02	2.87	2.96	2	87	81	84
L. P. 2. (Ornate)	10	3.15	2.56	2.99	3	96	84	90
L. P. Z. *	23	3.10	2.55	2.86	10	93	83	88
L. P. 2. (Barbaric)	23	3.01	2.56	2.90	9	92	81	87
L. P. Z. B	14	3.10	2.63	2.89	9	8 9	83	85
¹ Caley, Analytical C	hemisti	ry, 195	32, p. (6 76 .				



NO. OF WEIGHT NO. OF SILVER CONTENT TYPE OF COIN SPECI- HIGH LOW AVER. SPECI- HIGH LOW AVER. **MENS MENS** Copper Coins (Tanks) L. P. 2. (5 dots) 8 8.8 6.7 7.4 **1.** ₱. **2**. (6 dots) 3 7.5 6.3 7.0 $\mathcal{L}. \mathcal{P}. \mathcal{L}.$ (6 dots + 8.6 6.6 7.6 I curl) HETOUM-ZABEL² Trams Bilingual 10 3.00 2.74 2.84 3 91 94 90 Half trams 6 1.50 1.40 1.46 2 93 87 90 Lion holding cross * 46 3.10 2.83 2.96 20 92 95 90 Lion holding cross • 3.15 2.82 2.95 88 34 3 92 90 Lion walking-cross • 98 67 3.30 2.82 2.96 17 89 92 Lion walking-cross 86 3.20 2.80 2.94 21 91 50 94 Lion with cross and star 3.04 2.80 2.91 84 82 15 3 83 Lion with no cross 3.08 2.80 2.94 with star Ι 90 90 Lion with no cross, no star 3.04 2.80 2.88 86 88 17 2 90 Copper coins (Tanks) Throne, lions adorned 14 8.6 5.2 7.2 Throne, conventionalized lions 8.9 5.0 7.0 14 Throne, two legs on each side 7.6 9 9.7 7.0 Throne, two posts 8.3 5 6.5 5.7 Kardez Equestrian 12 6.0 4.6 3.4 Throne adorned 7 5.5 3.6 4.5 King seated 25 5.0 3.5 4.3 LEVON II New Trams Half trams Lion turned left 84 83 84 I.45 I.4I I.43 Half trams Lion turned right 63 3 1.33 1.29 1.30 50 57

Coinage of Cilician Armenia



² Broken or excessively worn specimens were omitted and only those weighing 2.80 grams or over were listed.

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	NO OF	,	WEYCH	~	NO OF			
TYPE OF COIN	NO. OF		WEIGH		NO. OF			NTENT
TIPE OF COIN	MENS	nign	LOW	AVER.	SPECI- MENS	HIGH	LOW	AVER.
	MENS				MENS			
Lion left				_				
	9	2.93	2.67	2.85	6	90	8 o	83
Lion left	_	•		_			_	
լ. Թ. ԱՄԵՆ ՀԱՅ	6	2.87	2.41	2.60	5	7 9	65	72
Lion left	_	. 0.		- (-	_			<i>C</i> –
L. ም. ሀሆ ቴኒ ረሀ	5	2.80	2.34	2.67	4	<i>7</i> 5	50	61
Lion right L. P. ZUBLAS	2	0.42	0.25	2.20	0	65	50	-0
Lion right	L	2.43	2.35	2.39	2	65	50	58
Հ. <i>Թ. ՀԱՑՒՈ</i>	2	2.88	2.50	2.69	I	77		77
Lion right	~	2.00	2.50	2.09	•	77		77
L. P. ZUBU8	3	2.55	2.50	2.53	3	72	61	65
Lion right	3	33	,	33	3	/-	V-	٠,
ኒ. Թ . ረሀ <i>Ց</i> በ	3	2.76	2.42	2.59	2	72	59	65
Lion right		•	•	o,		•	0,	Ū
L. P. ZUBU	3	2.68	2.00	2.42	6	72	50	66
Kardez								
Obverse: lion								
Reverse: cross	4	4.9	3 ⋅ 5	4.I				
Obverse: cross	_	. .						
Reverse: lion	5	6.5	3.2	5.0				
		HE	TOUM	II				
Billon	6	0.75	0.60	0.66				
Kardez								
King's head	13	5.2	2.7	4.0				
King seated	13	3.8	2.0	2.9				
		5	MPAD					
Takvorins	5	2.88	2.50	2.67	3	76	68	73
Poghs	15	2.3			3	70	00	/3
8	3	3	5					
		GO.	SDANT	יו אוי				
T . t								
Takvorins	3	3.0	2.6		I	75		<i>7</i> 5
Poghs	6	2.7	1.9	2.4				
		T	EVON	TIT				
T-1								
Takvorins	7	2.57		_	3	56	50	52
Poghs	10	5.7	2.4	3.3				

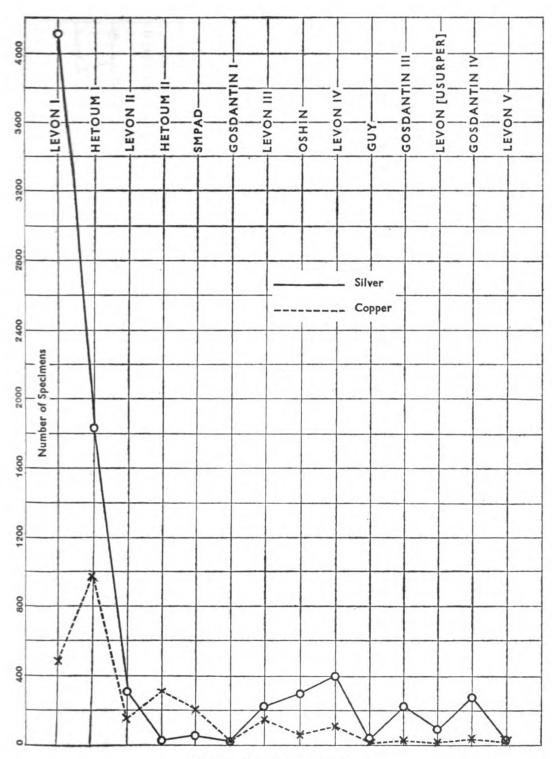
112 Coinage of Cilician Armenia

	NO. OF	,	WEIGH	T	N.O OF	SILVE	R CON	TENT
TYPE OF COIN	SPECI- MENS	HIGH	LOW	AVER.	SPECI- MENS	HIGH	LOW	AVER.
			OSHI	N ³				
Takvorins	25	2.75	2.26	2.49	12	65	52	62
Poghs	3	1.55	1.15	1.4				
		LEV	VON IV	74				
Takvorins	29	2.60	2.26	2.36	13	65	53	5 9
Poghs	7	2. I	1.2	1.47		_		
			GUY					
Takvorins	2	2.34	1.94	2.07	2	54	52	53
Poghs	2	1.20	1.20	1.20				
		GOSD	ANTIN	111				
Takvorins	13	2.19	1.75	2.04	17	63	41	51
Poghs	2	1.35	1.25	1.30				
	LE	ON T	HE US	URPER				
Takvorins	13	2.41	2.00	2.20	4	58	48	50
Poghs	4	1.90	1.15	1.45				
		GOSD	ANTIN	IV				
Takvorins	33	2.45	1.87	2.15	Less th	han 40	% (S	pecific
Poghs	3	2.25	1.40	1.85				
		L	EVON	\mathbf{v}				
Takvorins	3	0.75	0.55	0.70				
Poghs	5	1.05	0.65	0.86				

³ Only those weighing 2.25 grams or over were taken.

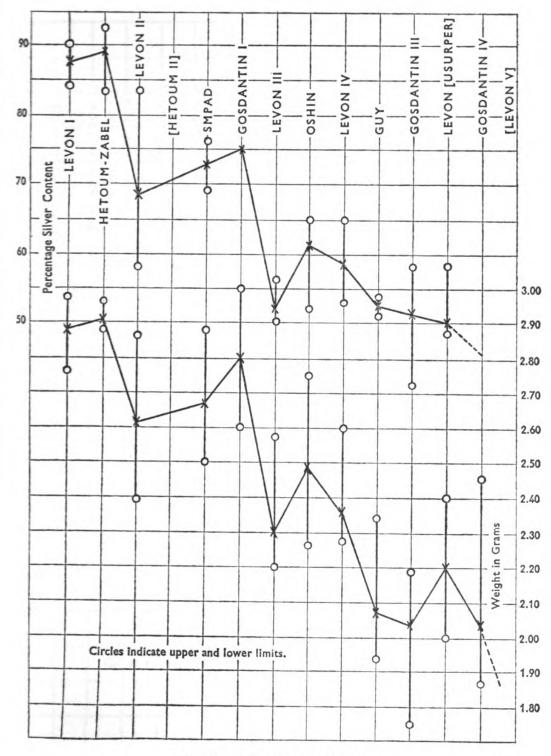


⁴ Only those weighing 2.25 grams or over were taken.



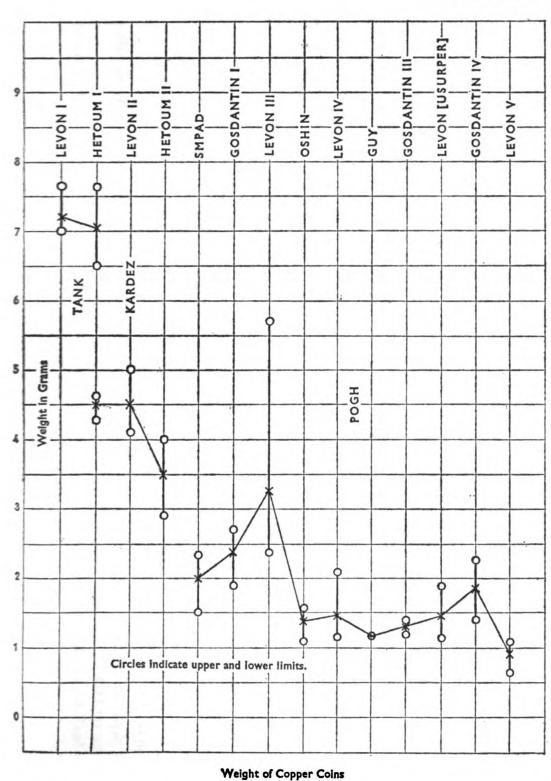
Number of Silver and Copper Coins

GRAPH II



Weight and Silver Content of Trams





Trongine of Copper Comis

Statistics

113

SOME STATISTICS

In the preparation of this work, the author depended for the most part on actual rubbings made of the coins rather than on published material which, unfortunately, is often unreliable.

In the following pages, tabulated analyses are given of the coinage of each ruler and the specimens found in various collections. A summarized version of these tables is also given for the entire corpus.

8SI
MS^8
KB
NK
BM
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HK
PH
BN
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		Ju	uii	SIII	. 3								
	4	98	134	3	21	133	112	619	51	74	468	89	63
			H				49	344	15	24	231	38	36
	Н	31	32	I	I	∞	4	81	Ι	62	8	3	
		н			I		3	2	H		н		
		8	H			9		7		H	7	II	
		8	8	Ι		67	Η	n			7		
			н			H	I	3	н	61	8		
		9	4		Η	37	4	3	н	H	8		H
		3	3			3	H	2	H	н			
I						H	3	22	8	H	9		8
LEVON							H	7	н	Η	23		
1	H	126	21		3	9	I	19	4	4	7		
		12	II		3	117	9	23	61	2	23		3
	н	3	12		8	4	7	61	62	က	7	2	73
		I	8		H	63	5	91	3	7	8	9	
		7	20	н	2	5	II	40	9	12	33	6	7
	н	185	24		4	737	20	90	II	15	125	17	12
	Antioch billon	Double trams	Half double tr.	Quart. double tr.	Half trams	Coronation trams	L. PUPNI WUEL 2.	l. P. 2UBNB	l. F. 2U38	Lept P. 2.	l. P. 2UN8	L. F. LUBUU8	l. P. 2UN8N etc.

⁶ Includes one copper specimen. ⁷ Includes trams with one lion. ⁵ Includes two copper specimens.

includes IS and IS-H (Hoard of 1600 Levon I trams). ⁸ Includes ER, AM, HE, EB and JG collections.

114	Coinage of Cilician Armenia
-----	-----------------------------

114			Coi	mag	ge oj	C	ıııc	rur	n z	177	ner	ria	,				
	34	901	238 188	630	94 122	81	102	20	51	55	69	294	4089		73	20	15
IS	21	54	95	386	69 3	, 43	57	47	14	21	39	121	1836		H		
MS	н	1 07 0	×	Ŋ	77			77			73	7	128		3	4	H
KB		ı	н 7	77	н								18		Ŋ	3	
NK	н	· 6	H	н	н		H						38		н	61	
BM		1	н а	H								H	22		H	3	H
AA		8	В Н	1	H							н	18		63	н	
KK		H	В Н	S.	H	63				Η			37			Ι	
AN		Í	нн	71			H			Η		3	26	anks	3	Ι	
HK I I	~	9 0	II	∞ ¹	w 4	8	2	4	н		3	6	90	LEVON I—Copper Tank	н	H	H
PH :	H	H	н	25	01 K	'n	∞		7	H		15	26	—Cot			
BN	H	1	დ შ	6	н						Η	7	92	NOV	7	∞	7
VM	7	\ vo	8 91	58	20 16	∞	9	4	II	Ι	Ŋ	36	306	LE	3	10	3
MM	0 1	9	12	27	√ 4	. დ	3	8	3	I	H	9	154		4	77	H
AD	0	1 (1)	N 0	7	н н				Η	8		3	74		5	9	
PB	2 2	13	35 19	32	n u	0 01	7	Η	4	6	4	19	323		11	2	
WM	8 25	24	51 34	64	21	91	17	10	13	18	14	74	830		24	23	9
	Lone P. 2Unga etc. L. P. 2. (Foot turned	L. P. & (Ornate) 24	1. F. A. * 1. F. A. P.	L. P. 2. (Non-artistic	4. F. 2. (Dist-design)1. F. 211311	l. P. 2UB	L. P. 208	l. P. 2U' or 2U	Miscellaneous	Lily in right hand	Errors and oddities	Undeciphered	TOTAL		Five dots on crown	Six dots on crown	Seven or eight dots



Five dots, one curl	H			60												H	S	
Six dots, one curl	30 I9	61	7	9	6	12		4	n	က	н	က		9	ß		901	
Five dots, two curls	14	77	5	61	က	4		ĸ		н	4			63	H		43	
Six or seven dots																		
and two curls	4																4	
Undeciphered	41	12	14		∞	13		70	4	H	4	3		13			154	
TOTAL	143	49	37	37	38	46		32	II	9	12	13	က	29	12	61	470	
	WM PB AD	PB	AD	MM	VM10	BN	PH	HK	AN	KK	AA	BM	NK	KB	MS	IS		

IS
MS
KB
NK
BM
AA
KK
AN
HK
PH
VM10 BN
MM
AD
PB
WM

Statistics

	75	153	57		961		194		553
			61		4		H		21
	9	9	∞		30		39		45
	4	3	8		7		H		8
	4	9			3		4		6
	н	4	H		∞		9		17
	8	4	H		7		7		11
	က	∞	H		6		14		40
ZABEL		Η	H		H		7		6
HETOUM-ZABEL					12		14		III
HET	2	20	∞		3		∞		23
	1211	22	က		9		4		61
	4	9	3		21		81		5 0
	က	4	4		7		II		56
	က	6			62		36		62
	28^{10}	, 5810	17		2 6		27		132
	Bilingual Kaikobad 2810	Bilingual Kaikhusrew 5810	Half trams	Lion holding cross	with star	Lion holding cross	with dot	Lion walking, cross	with dot

¹⁰ Includes half-trams.
¹¹ Unfortunately the rubbings of VM and KB trams were accidentally mixed and consequentely all placed under VM.

115

:16	Coinage	of	Cilician	Armenia
10	Comage	U J	Cilician	Armenia

116					C_{i}	oin	ag	e o	f (Cil	ici	an	Arm	eni	ia						
			399		37		25		46	7	46	1836				611		195		123	34
IS			14				H				8	45	2			H		8			
MS			53		I		I		7	H	8	961				12		∞		5	
KB																H					
NK			H									17								3	•
BM			က								H	30	5			8		3		∞	
AA			4				H		8		H	45	2			9		8		9	H
KK			∞				H				H	37	5			3		3			7
AN			34		91		10		27	H		163		er.		6				က	H
HK	HETOUM-ZABEL		10								6	38	,	HETOUM I—Copper		6		7		II	7
ЬH	-Muo		112							H	10	260		-I WI		8					
BN	HET		17		4		61				91	901		HETO		6		25		9	н
VM			10							H	4	81				6		17		14	1
MM			01						H			80				9		17		9	
AD			91		8		H			H	II	98				12		21		6	7
WM PB AD			45		7		8		ß	H	17	255	3			15		17		12	7
WM			62		7		9		4	н	20	388			_	2 8		69		40	17
		Lion walking, plain	Cross	Star under lion—	with cross	Star under lion—	no cross	Lion with no star-	no cross	Misc. rarities	Undeciphered	TOTAL			Throne adorned with	lions (tank)	Throne with conven-	tionalized lions	Throne of four legs,	no star on obverse 40	Throne on two posts 17

						St	ati	sti	cs						117
79	50	131 246	226		4	34	136	128	22	324		95	56	150	17
		9	6			H	7	9	4	13			7	8	
3	_د د	n				н	5	7	4	12		4	8	9	
H	н	H	4			H	က	н		2		3	H	4	H
	۰	- н	2			8	3	H		9		H		H	H
H	н	3	20			77	63	3		7		3		3	
	د ۱	- н	61				3	9		6		က		3	
H	α	o 11	23		н	н	2	3		12		က		3	
		7	13		8	н	3	7	н	6	*	3		3	u
က	9 &	۰ 4	93	LEVON II—S <i>ilve</i> r			3	7		2	LEVON II—Coppen	3	7	01	hetoum 11 <i>—Billon</i> 2
			63	II											— II W
9	¥	C C	72	LEVO		2	6	2	3	22	LEVON	∞	7	15	ETOU 2
~	ω ₄	15	20			က	17	22	H	43		н	H	8	Ħ
3	4 (22	99			5	24	10		39		∞	7	15	8
9	3	49	123			63	13	∞	7	25		20	7	27	н
18	10	39				2	91	20	7	43		12	10	22	4
28	91	4	274		н	2	5 8	35	2	74		22	12	34	9
King on horseback (kardez) Throne adorned with	lions (kardez) 16 King seated (kardez) 20	Undeciphered	TOTAL		Hetoum-Levon II	Half trams	Lion turned left	Lion turned right	Undeciphered	TOTAL		Kardez	Undeciphered	TOTAL	Billon

Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

118				Coin	age	e of	· C	ilici	an 2	Arn	nen	ia				
		104	105	<i>L</i> 9	46	322			01			21		6	32	41
IS				8	8	4			H					н	က	4-
MS		7	4	H		12			8			61			67	7
KB		H		4		3								8		8
		H	н			8										
BM NK		8	4	H		7						H			H	H
AA		63	63			4									4	4
РН НК АN КК			က			3									64	6
AN	ber	3	01	н		9		ver			per	H				
HK	нетоим II <i>—Сорре</i>	∞	ν.	10	н	24		GOSDANTIN I—Silver			GOSDANTIN I—Copper		Silver			
PH	-II W							NTIN			TIN I		SMPAD—Silver			
BN	ETOU	∞ '	9	က	3	20		OSDA]			SDAN	8	SMP	н	7	က
VM	#	н	н	8		4		G			Ö				H	H
MM		3	63	9		13						H		က	7	Ŋ
AD		91	12	15	14	27						9		н	4	2
PB		15	91	9	13	20			H			3			4	4
WM PB AD		35	47	91	13	III			9			4		н	7	∞
		King's head	King seated Undeciphered	King's head Undeciphered	King seated	TOTAL			Trams			Kardez		Levon I type	Trams	TOTAL

Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

						Statis	stics							119
	105	204		202	70	222		26	52	149		12	213	57
	H	H		15	4	61							12	
	5	11		11	က	4		9		9			2	
	ო ო	9		H		н		01	H	3		n	77	
	8 н	3		9		9			H	H			61	
	8	8		9		9							н	
				9		9							2	
				9		9		4		4		H	ဗ	
	8 н	က	*	8		0	ż.		3	က		H	4	
SMPAD—Copper	6 52	II	LEVON III—Silver	13	H	14	LEVON III—Copper	н	61	က	OSHIN—Silver		ဗ	н
SMPAD	9 I3	22	LEVON]	12		12	EVON I	∞		∞	OSHIN	8	18	н
	4 0	9		^	H	∞	=	9		9			10	н
	ο 4	6		22		22			4	4		H	45	4
	17	4		12	н	13		14	13	27		H	91	17
	21 24	45		20	4	24		13	13	56			21	13
	29 12	41		63	9	69		43	15	28		3	36	~
	Kardez Undeciphered	TOTAL		Takvorins Takvorins	Undeciphered	TOTAL		Kardez	Undeciphered	TOTAL		Coronation coin	Takvorins	Takvorins Undeciphered



IS
MS
KB
NK
BM
AA
KK
AN
HK
PH
BN
VM
MM
AD
PB
WM

120

	13		37	35	72		161	95	50		63
IS	6I						4	14	3		
MS	II	!	3	77	2		8	10	77		
KB	v.)		7	8			н			
NK	64	ı					4				
BM	н	1					H		4		
	v	,									
KK AA	4	-					က				
AN	ν.					er	c	H			
HK	4	oshin—Cop <i>þer</i>		77	7	LEVON IV—Silver					
PH)— NII				-VI NO					
BN	21	HSO		7	8	LEVC	12	4	н		3
ΛM	3 41	-		I	H						H
MM	4 4	5	6	3	5		40	19	10		24
AD MM	39	ò	6	10	19		27	23	18		21
PB	1 65		7	7	14		50	17	10		12
WM	46	+	91	9	22		45	9	8		8
	Takvorins with Arabic surcharge TOTAL		Poghs	Poghs—Undec.	TOTAL		Takvorins Takvorins—	Undeciphered Takvorins—	Arabic surcharge	Arabic surcharge—	legible ¹²

12 It is assumed that most of the coins in this column are Levon IV. Some, undoubtedly belong to Oshin.

63 399

21



				Statistics				121
	80	101	46	4		141 86 227		21
			ဗ			3 10 13		
	2	Ŋ	~			4 4 ∞		н
		нн	73					
			H			2 2 2		н
		нн				9 1 7		
			4			н		
LEVON IV—Copper			GUY—Silver 2	gux—Copper	GOSDANTIN III—Silver	9 W W	GOSDANTIN III—Copper	H
EVON	∞	3	GU)	GUY	OSDAN	6 5 11	SDANT	
Ţ			н		Ğ	9 m m	305	
	9	9	9			17 12 29		
	15	4 I9	~			8 114 22		н
	12	5 17	9			24 9 33		9
	34	7	9	4		63 23 86		11
	Poghs Poghs—	Undeciphered	Takvorins	Poghs		Takvorins Takvorins Undec. rotal		Poghs

122	· ·													
	75 18 93	14	147	274	45	7	19							
IS	н ю 4		vo v	01	က									
MS	н 4 х		vo v	01		۰	ч н							
KB						۰	4							
NK	0 0		6 F	+ m			H							
BM	н н													
AA	н н		н	H										
KK "	s s	er					I							
AN -Silv	0 0	-Copp	lver	9 :	pper	4	.							
PH HK AN KK AA USURPER—Silver	н н	levon the usurper—Coφφer ι	GOSDANTIN IV—Silver 2 12 1	101	Gosdantin IV—C <i>oppen</i> I 2	LEVON V—Billon	LEVON V—Copper							
PH USUI		USUR	TIN I		AI N	 	 							
VM BN	φ n ∞	THE	SDAN 12 6	81	3DAN1 2	LEVO]	LEVO							
VM LEVON		EVON	60	6	00 H									
MM	∞ 4 <u>2</u> 1	3	» ;	31			H							
	% % Q	4	26	78	9	0	1 4							
PB AD	13 2 15	က	39	59	œ	c	5							
WM	26 I	5	46 8	5.	25	t	9							
	Takvorins Takvorins undec. TOTAL	Poghs	Takvorins Takvorins under	TOTAL	Poghs	Rillon	Poghs							
	-													

Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

	4089 470	1836	226	324	150	17	322	01	21	41	204	222	149	295	72	399	101	45	8
SI	1836	45	6	13	8		4	H		4	H	19		19		21		ဗ	
MS	128	961	34	12	9		12	8	63	8	II	14	9	II	2	14	5	7	
KB	18 29		4	3	4	H	5			61	9	н	e	2	8	H	H	8	
NK	38	17	3	9	н	Η	67				က	9	н	77		4		н	
BM	22 13	30	20	7	က		7		H	н	62	9		н		3	H		
AA	12	45	61	6	က		4			4		9		2					
KK	37 6	37	23	12	က		3		H	7		9	4	4		3		4	
AN	26	163	13	6	က		9				3	8	က	3		4			
HK	90	38	93	2	01		24				II	14	က	4	8				
ЬH	6	260	6																
BN	92 46	901	72	22	15	63	20		6	က	22	12	∞	21	8	20	II	6	
VM	306 38	81	20	43	7		4			н	9	∞	9	14	H	H		H	
MM	154	89	99	39	15	8	13		H	3	6	22	4	54	2	93	9	9	
AD	74 37	98	123	25	27	H	57		9	3	4	13	27	39	19	89	61	7	
PB	323 49	255	150	43	22	4	50	H	4	4	45	24	5 0	65	14	89	17	9	
WM	830 143	388	274	74	34	9	III	9	4	∞	41	69	58	46	22	55	41	9	7
·	ilver opper	Silver	Copper 274	Silver	Copper	Billon		Silver	Copper	Silver	Copper	Silver	Copper	Silver	Copper	Silver	Copper	Silver	Copper
	LEVON I. S C HETOUM-ZABEL		HETOUM I.	LEVON II.		HETOUM II.		GOSDANTIN I.	Copper	SMPAD		LEVON III.		OSHIN.		LEVON IV.		GUY.	

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	T					
	227	93	274	45 14	01 7886	2567 10453
IS	13	4	IO	3	1988	21 2009
MS	∞ ⊢	ı v	10	Ħ	1 410	95 505
KB				H	36	54 90
NK	7	61	က		1 87	17 104
BM	7	H			80	47
AA		н	H		89	38
KK	н	3			III	41 152
AN	5	8	9		222	40 262
HK		H	8		154	175 329
ЬH					357	2 359
BN	II	8 н	18	61	317	201 518
VM	3		8	н	462	128
MM	29 I	12	31		1 536	191 162
AD	22	10	78	9 7	4 451	371 822
PB	33	15	59	დ ო	5 924	399
WM	98	27 5	54	25	9 2991	777
	III. Silver Cobber	USURPER Silver Cobber	IV. Silver	Copper Billon	Copper 6 5 Silver 1662 924 4	Copper 777 399 TOTAL 2439 1323
	GOSDANTIN III	LEVON THE USURPER Silver Cobber	GOSDANTIN IV.	LEVON V.		

Statistics 125

The corpus, therefore, exclusive of counting errors, contains the following:

UNKNOWN RULER	I
PRINCE TOROS	3
PRINCE GOSDANTIN (?)	I
PRINCE LEVON II	O
GOLD PIECES	10
LEVON I Silver	4089
Copper	470
HETOUM-ZABEL Silver	1836
Copper	977
LEVON II Silver	324
Copper	150
HETOUM II Billon	17
Copper	320
SMPAD Silver	41
Copper	204
GOSDANTIN I Silver	10
Copper	21
LEVON III Silver	222
Copper	149
OSHIN Silver	295
Copper	72
LEVON IV Silver	399
Copper	IOI
GUY Silver	46
Copper	2
GOSDANTIN III Silver	277
Copper	21
LEVON THE USURPER Silver	93
Copper	14
GOSDANTIN IV Silver	274
Copper	45
LEVON V Billon	14
Copper	19
FORGERIES	12
POST ROUPENIAN (?)	13
TOTAL	



THE CORPUS



ARRANGEMENT OF THE CORPUS

The corpus is arranged in a chronological order of rulers.

The coins of each ruler are given in the order of completeness of the inscription on the obverse. Under each obverse inscription, the reverse inscriptions are listed beginning with the most complete legend and ending with the least complete one. Various types of coins issued by the same ruler but having the same obverse inscription are listed under different headings. An index of legends appears at the end of the corpus.

Wherever possible, the weight (in grams) and the percentage silver content of the coin are given, along with the location of that specimen. The number following the citation indicates the number of coins of that type in a particular collection. Thus, 2.9 (88%), PB; WM (9), specifies that the type of coin in question weighs 2.9 grams, has a silver content of 88%, and is in PB collection; also, that 9 specimens of that type of coin are in WM collection. The citations are explained in the bibliography section.

The * mark indicates that the specimen is illustrated. The location of the specimen is also indicated by * mark preceding the citation.

The corpus is numbered consecutively, each type variation being given a different number. Those of the same variety, though not necessarily from the same die, are given a single number.

Since there was no fixed die position in striking the coins of this period, the die positions have been omitted.

Listing of the diameters has also been omitted since there were often considerable variations in each type and the specimens were not always perfectly circular. A sufficient number of coins are illustrated, however, to indicate the size and shape of most types.

Practically all of the photographs were taken from aluminum paper impressions. At first glance they appear to lack contrast, but on examination with a magnifying glass will show much of the detail of the coin.



PRINCES

*I Attributed to Toros II (1145-1169).

Obv. /////JPL(?) PAPAU

Rev. Undeciphered

*PB(1).

1a UNKNOWN PRINCE.1

Legend Undeciphered BN(1).

*2 UNKNOWN PRINCE. Attributed to an early Roupenian prince, possibly Gosdantin I (1095–1099) or Toros I (1099–1129).

Obv. ||||||**ՆԱՅԷ**|||| Rev. ||||<mark>ԵՆՈՐՀԱԻ</mark>Ք|||

*VM(1).

*3 TOROS I (1099–1129) or TOROS II (1145–1169).³
Obv. ԹበՐՈՍԻ Է ቡዶ

Rev. Various marks and characters.

*WM(I); PB(I) (Legend clockwise)

PRINCE LEVON II.4 (1187-1199)
[Later King Levon I]

*4 Obv. ԼԵՎՈՆ ԾԱՌԱ ԱՑ Rev. ՈՐԴԻ ՍՏԵՓԱՆԷԻ

¹ Morgan, History of the Armenian People, p. 193. Although this coin is placed among the Armenian coins in the Cabinet des Médailles, it is impossible to assign it definitely to this period.

² Alishan, Sissouan, p. 378. This appears to be a genuine coin and bears some resemblance in styling to the early Crusader coins. The condition of the coin does not permit a reading of the inscription.

³ Although listed as a coin in various numismatic books, this is a rather thick specimen and bears little resemblance to the coins of this period. It may be a medal rather than a coin struck for circulation. A second specimen, apparently a coin, was recently seen by Prof. A. Donabedian in Beirut.

⁴ The existence of so many specimens indicates clearly that Levon had

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Coinage of Cilician Armenia

- 1. WM [Vienna Mekhitarian Museum]
- 2. VM [Venice Mekhitarian Museum]
- 3. *AD [A. Donabedian Collection, Beirut, Lebanon]
- 4. MM [Mardikian Museum, Beirut, Lebanon]
- 5. NL [Bibliothèque Nubar, Paris]
- 6. BN [Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris]
- 7. BN [Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris]
- 8. ER [State Historical Museum, Erivan, Armenia]
- 9. PB [P. Bedoukian, New York]
- 10. DG [Formerly in possession of Dr. Der Ghazarian of Aleppo, Syria, now lost]¹

GOLD COINS²

LEVON I

*5 Obv. L&MI PUPUMP ZUBN8 Rev. YUPNINMPFL UUSMUN8 *BN(2); KB(1).

7 LEVON I – HETOUM I

Obv. LEN'T PUPULAN LUB×N8+ Rev. LEN'T PUPULAN LUBN8 WM(I); *VM(I).

*8 GOSDANTIN I

Obv. ԿՈՍՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԳ ՀԱՅՈՑ Rev. ՍՍՈՑ ԲԵՐԴՆ Է ԹԱԳԱՐ *VM(1); IS(1).

established a mint or made use of the existing mint before his coronation. All of the coins examined were quite worn but a careful examination revealed that they were struck with more than one die.

- ¹ Garabetian, Pazmaveb, July-Sept. 1952, p. 156.
- ² For a discussion of the gold coins, see p. 68.



LEVON I

[Crusader Type Coins Struck in Antioch]

9 Obv. LEO DEI GRATIA¹ Rev. REX ARMENIOR

*10 Obv. LEO DEI GRATIA Rev. REX ARMENOR

*WM(1).

*II Obv. LEO DEI/////

Rev. REX ARMENOR

*MM(I).

12 Obv. LEO REX²
Rev. ARMENOR

BN(1).

DOUBLE TRAMS

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՅՆ ՀԱՅՈՑ

*13 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԵԱՄԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ** Rev. No field mark.

5.48, (84%), *PB; PB(1); ER(1); VM(1); WM(1); MM(1).

*14 YUPNINAPEUUFU UUSNATA Rev. Field mark η to

left of lion.

*VM(1); KB(1); BN(1).

*15 YUPMIN FLUUSANON Rev. Field mark (to

left of lion.

*VM(1).

*163 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԵԱՄԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ

Rev. Lion facing right and field mark \hbar to right of lion.

*BN(1).

- ¹ Schlumberger, Revue Archéologique, N. S. 16, 30e. p. 345-349, 1875, mentions this coin, but its present whereabouts is unknown to me.
- ² Apparently, this is the coin described as a second variety in Basmadjian, p. 148.
- ³ The lion facing right is most likely an error on the part of the die-maker It is noteworthy that the lion facing right is also found in the half double trams of which four are listed: Nos. 66 and 67.

9*



*I7 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԵԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ

Rev. Field mark ★ to

left of lion's tail.

PB(i); *NK(i).

18 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԵԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ*

Rev. Cinquefoil to left

of tail.

ER(1).

*19 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ*

Rev. No field mark.

5.55, *KK; WM(2); ER(1); BN(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԳՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՑՆ ՀԱՑՈՑ

20 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԵԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ

Rev. Dot under lion.

Obv. Dot under fleur

de lys.

VM(2).

*2፤ ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԵԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ

Rev. Cinquefoil over

lion.

*AN(1).

22 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԵԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ

Rev. No field mark.

ER(1); HE(1).

*23 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ

Rev. Cinquefoil to left

of lion.

5.44, (98%); 5.55, (98%), *PB; 5.40; 5.50, KK; WM(5); VM(2); AN(2); BM(1); ER(9); MM(1); BN(2); HE(1).

24 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ

Rev. No field mark.

5.36, (98%), PB; WM(1); NK(1); BN(3); ER(2).

*25 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ

Rev. Cinquefoil to left

of lion and ,, above

lion.

5.47, (98%), PB; 5.25, *KK; WM(3); ER(6); VM(1); BN(2); EB(1).



26 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ

Rev. Cinquefoil to right of cross.

ER(1).

*27 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ

Rev. Cinquefoil to left

of lion and dot over and under lion.

4.65; 5.35, KK; *WM(2); VM(2); ER(4); BN(1); EB(1);

PB(1).

*28 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ

Rev. Half moon to left of lion and dot to right

of lion's tail.

ER(1); *BM(1).

29 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ

Rev. Half moon to left of lion and dot to left

of front paw.

WM(1).

30 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ

Rev. Dot under lion's

tail.

WM(1); VM(1).

31 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ*8

Rev. Cinquefoil under

lion's tail and three

dots under lion.

VM(1).

32 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ

Rev. Cinquefoil to left

of lion and dot above

lion.

AD(1).

33 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ

Rev. Cinquefoil to left

of lion.

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

*34 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԵԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ

Rev. Cinquefoil over

lion.

*ER(1).



*35 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ *MM(1).

Rev. Dot to right of lion.

DOUBLE TRAMS OF COPPER1

36 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ*

Similar to 23.

WM(2).

37 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ

Similar to 27.

BN(1).

HALF DOUBLE TRAMS

*38 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ

Rev. Cinquefoil to left

of lion and dot under

tail.

*VM(1).

39 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*ԾՈՅ

Rev. h to left of lion

and dot to left of tail.

ER(1); BN(1).

40 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ

4I *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾՈՅ*

Rev. Field marks as in

2.80, KK; ER(2); AN(1); MM(1).

Rev. Field marks as in

49.

VM(I).

¹ The existence of these copper double trams is puzzling especially in view of the fact that no coppers of half double trams have been discovered so far. They may be forgeries although they appeared to be struck with a die similar to the silver coins. These are the only copper coins of Levon I struck with a die used for silver coins. There is however a single specimen of a copper coin of Hetoum-Zabel coin (No. 1421) and a copper coin of Oshin (No. 1936) struck with silver coin dies.



42 ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹԻԲՆ ԱՍՏԻԾՈՅ

Rev. Field marks as in 49. Note error in legend.

ER(1).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱ*ՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

*43 **4U**\$\(\text{U}\)\(\text{T}\)\(\text{U}\)\(\text{U}\)\(\text{V}\)\(\text{U}\)\(\text{E}\)\(\text{U}\)\(\text{E}\)\(\text{I}\)\(\text{I}\)\(\text{B}\)\(\text{I}\)\(\text{I}\)\(\text{B}\)\(\text{I}\)\(\text{I}\)\(\text{B}\)\(\text{I

VM(5); ER(8); AN(2); VM(1); MM(4); BN(8); IS(1).

45 **4น**คำกากคระ นบรกคชาติ Rev. Cinquefoil to left of lion.

2.58, (91%), PB; ER(1); BN(1).

46 4ULININAPEL UUSNAVAS Rev. Field marks as in 38.

VM(I).

48 **4U**PMINAPFI **UUS**MATAB Rev. **71** to left of lion. AD(1).

*49 4UPNINAPFL UUSNAVANS Rev. 7. to left of lion and dot above lion.

2.65, KK; PB(1); ER(4); *WM(3); BM(1); MM(2); BN(2); HE(1).

50 שערתקה היה עושאריה Rev. Dot to left of lion. ER(1).

51 4UPMINAPEL UUSMATA Rev. Cinquefoil to left of lion and dot under tail.

ER(1).



52 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՍՒԾՈՅ

Rev. Field mark as

in 49.

2.90, PB.

53 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾՒՈՅ

Rev. Field mark as in 62.

WM(1).

54 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏԻԾՈՑ

Rev. Field mark as in 62.

2.79, (90%); 2.72, (93%); 2.60, (88%); 2.66; 2.63, PB; WM(5); ER(2); MM(2); BN(3).

55 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՒԾՈՅ

Rev. Field mark as in 62.

2.77, (89%), PB; WM(4); ER(3); VM(1); NK(1); BN(2).

56 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՒԾՈՑ

Rev. as above but

*ԿԱՐՈ*Ղ*ՈՒԹՆ.*

WM(1).

57 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾՈ

Rev. No field mark.

WM(1); PB(1); ER(1).

58 ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹԻԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾՈ

Rev. No field mark.

ER(2).

59 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏԾՈՑ

Rev. Field mark as

in 49.

WM(1); VM(1).

*6o ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏԾՈՅ

Rev. A to left of lion

and dot above lion.

*BN(1).

61 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՒՈ*Ց

Rev. Field marks as

in 49.

VM(1).

*62 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՒՈՅ

Rev. h to left of lion.

*MM(2).

63 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՅ

Rev. Field mark as

in 49.

2.88, (90 %), PB; ER(1).



64 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՒՍՈՅ

Rev. Field marks as

in 62.

VM(1).

*65 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԵԲՆ*(?) *ԱՍՏՈԾՈ* *BN(1). Rev. No field mark.

66 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ

Rev. Lion turned right. Lion and field mark mirror image of 49.

2.66, (84%), PB; 2.55, KK.

*67 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ

Rev. As above but without dot over lion.

*AA(1); BN(1).

HALF TRAMS

Quarter Double Trams.1

*68 Obv. Lthn't PUP Rev. Uhnr 2UBN8 Rev. No field marks.

1.27, (92%), PB; ER(1); *BM(1).

Regular Half Trams

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ Է

69 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ*HE(1).

¹ Sibilian, p. 78, shows a drawing of a quarter double tram which Schlumberger had copied from a specimen in Markar Alishan's collection. The whereabouts of this coin is not known at present. A single specimen was found in the Daphne hoard and the author's coin came from the Kelekian collection. Judging from Sibilian's drawing, the author's coin may be the Markar Alishan specimen. The origin of the British Museum's specimen is not known.



ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅԱՑ Է

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱ*ՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

*71 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾՈՅ 🙀 🔭

1.32, (98%); 1.30, PB; 1.30, KK; *WM(1); VM(1); AD(1); MM(1).

72 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ (* *WM(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

*73 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾՈՑ 🙀

1.06, (86%), PB; PB(1); *WM(2); VM(1); BN(3).

74 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾՈ*MM(I).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՐ* ՀԱՅՑ

*ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՅ*Դ

*76 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ*

(+ X→

Rev. Lions and cross inverted as in 321.

1.25, *PB.

¹ It is interesting that this error—inverted cross and lions—occurs on a number of trams: Nos. 673-680.

CORONATION TRAMS

Single lion type

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

76a¹ **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՅ Է ԹԱԳՐ** WM-H (1).

*₇₇ *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ*Ւ*ԾՈՑ* *AD(1).

77a **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾ**/ WM-H (3).

77b **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾՈ**(?) WM-H (1).

77C **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ** WM-H (3).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՐ* ՀԱՑՈՑ

*78 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ*

2.75, KK; *VM(1); BM(1); NK(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ

78a **Կ**ԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ HM-H(2)

*79 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏԻ* 2.88, (83%), *PB.

80 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ* WM(1); AD(1).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՐ* ՀԱՅ

81 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ*

WM(1); WM-H(1).

¹ All the coronation trams in the Vienna Mekhitarian Museum marked WM-H appear to be part of a hoard.



Two lion type¹

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ Է

[Letters in obverse field]2:

82 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏI (ՅԱ) (——— Obv. As in 84. MM(1).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ*

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ **Թ**ԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ I

[No letters in obverse field]:

- ¹ The crosses on the reverse of the coronation coins representing a number of varieties, are quite distinct and different from the crosses found on the ordinary trams of Levon I.
- * One might assume that the letters θ and U stand for $\theta h U \Pi h U$ (Jesus) and $UUS \Pi h UU$ (God).



*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ*

*89 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ* (→**ト**-・:
*WM(1); BN(1).

*90 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ* (—— : NK(1); *VM(1); WM(1); MM(1).

91 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ** (—— : Obv. As in 104. WM(1); WM-H(2).

*92 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ ***WM(2).

93 4UPNINAPPL UUSNAON (Obv. As in 111. MM(1); IS(1).

94a **4UPNZNIAPFI UUSNIA** (-----: Obv. As in 96. MM(1).

*96 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ (——— • *NK(1).

96a Ψυγηζηλφεί μυςηλο (—— • Obv. As in 104. ΗΕ(1).

97a ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ (——: Obv. As in 111. WM-H(1).

98 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈΙ (→★→: Obv. As in 96. NK(1); AD(1).

99 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ** WM(1). **(→★・** *Obv.* As in 90.

99a **4U**/N**\N**FF UUSN' WM-H(1). **○** Obv. As in 104.

100 **4UPNZNÞÞFU UUSN** WM(1). **○→** • • • • Obv. As in 96.

101 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ* NK(1); AN(1). **(**→ ••• Obv. As in 89.

102 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ* BN(1). Obv. As in III.

103 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ* WM(1). Obv. As in 90.

*104 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ*

*AN(1); HE(1); WM-H(1).

105 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ/* WM(1). *Obv.* As in 89.

106 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ/** AA(1) **○★** •• Obv. As in 89.

106a **५५, १९९१ १५, १९९१** WM-H(1). Obv. As in III.

107 *ዛԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ* WM(1). **(→★ :** Obv. As in 90.

108 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ* WM(2). Obv. As in 90.

109 ዛሀቦበጊበՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ

Obv. As in 90.

WM(1).

110 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲ*Ն ԱՍՏ

Obv. As in 104.

WM(1); VM(1); IS(1); WM-H(2); JG(2).

*iii *ԿԱՐՈ*Ղ*ՈՒԹFՆ ԱՍՏ*

2.86, (90%); 2.66, (83%); 2.72, PB; 2.95, KK(1); *NK(1); WM(6); VM(2); HK(1); AD(1); BN(1); WM-H(2).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑՈՑ*

*II3 4UPMLNAPUFL UUSNA *WM(I).

115 **\UNIONIA PFE UUS (→★→:** Obv. As in 114. WM(1); VM(1); BM(1); WM-H(3).

116 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ**WM(2); AN(1).

Obv. As in 111.

116a **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ**WM-H(2).

**Obv. As in 111.

116b **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍ**WM-M(1).

Obv. As in 114.

117 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏԻ** (→★→: Obv. As in 118. VM(1).

II8a 4U/MINAPPLUUS (Obv. Three ray light descending.



*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՈ8*

119 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ** (—***** • Obv. As in 120.

VM(I).

119a 4ULTULANATU (-* Obv. Similar to 88.

WM-H(1).

*120 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ* (→**፲**→፡

121 4UPMINAPEL UUSMA 3.00, KK.

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ

*I22 **Կ**ԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ (•-¥--::
*WM(1); VM(1); WM-H(1).

2.88, PB(1).

TRAMS

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳՐ ԱՄԵՆ ՀԱՑՈՑ

123 **4UPNZNAPPL UUSNATAB** Short cross. 2.54; 2.91; 2.67, PB; PB(1); IS-H(1).

124 **ΥԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ**(X); VM(1); IS-H(2).

*125 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ (**)
2.90, PB; 2.75, *KK; WM(6); IS-H(3); IS(3); JG(1).

126 **4U**\$\(\text{N}\)\(\text{F}\)\(\text{US}\)\(\text{V}\)\(\text{B}(1); \(\text{HK}(1); \text{ER}(1); \(\text{HE}(1); \text{IS}(3).}\)

127 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ**ԾՈՑ (*); AD(1).



128 **4U**/M\n\p\p\p\r\tau\s\n\ta\n\\
MM(1); IS-H(1).

2.83; 2.91, (81%), PB; PB(1); 2.60, KK; AA(1); IS-H(4); IS(1).

130 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՌԾՈՑ* (* *** WM(1).

130a 4U/MINAPFL UUSAANA (*).
IS(1).

130b 4U/MINAPFL UUSINTIIB (1).

131 **4UPMINAPFI UUSAATA**2.90, (93%), PB; WM(1); IS-H(2).

VM(1); AD(1); BM(1).

132a **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ**IS(1).

132b **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ**IS-H(1).

132C *ԿԱՐՈ*ՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ (1):

IS-H(1).

132d **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ**IS-H(1).

*134 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾՈՅ***AD(1); WM(1); AN(1); BN(1); IS-H(1); IS(1).

2.85, KK; IS-H(2); IS(1).

136 **4U**\$\(\text{N}\)\(\text{T}\)\(\text{F}\)\(\text{UUS}\(\text{N}\)\(\text{T}\)\(\text{T}\)\(\text{Short cross.}}\(\text{2.75}\), KK; PH(1).

137 Ψυρηζηλφεί μυδηνόη (*). WM(1); VM(1); KB(1); IS-H(1); IS(1).

137a **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏԻԾՈՅ** IS-H(1).

2.83, PB; IS(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳՐ ԱՄԵՆ ՀԱՅՈ

*141 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ* *WM(1); VM(1).

142 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՒԾՈՅ* AD(1); IS-H(1).



Short cross.

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳՐ ԱՄԵՆ ՀԱՅՑ

144 *ԿԱՐՈ*ՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ (1) MM(1).

144a **4U** / / / / / / / IS(2).

145 Ψυγηζηλρογί UUSηληη (* ** Short cross. WM(1); MM(1).

146 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՒԾՈ* HK(1). (* }

146a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ*ՆԾՈ (1) IS(1).

*ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ Է*¹

[Non-artistic-with footstool]

149 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ** (+***-** WM(1).

¹ The letter **½** often appears as **1**.



10.

² In practically all non-artistic coins the letter v is inverted and appears like an inverted s.

149b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ* (+) - IS-H(ɪ).

149c 4Ulanhana (+ ** Obv. Sometimes 3 dots under fleur de lys.

IS-H(4).

150 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ* (+). WM(1).

151 4U. P. P. P. L. U. S. P. S. (+ ** - ** A. N. (1); M. M. (1).

152 **\UPN\N\PF\ UUSN\BN** (+\frac{1}{2}--: 2.63; 2.79, (83%); 2.75, PB; MM(1); IS-H(1).

153 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ** (+X ...: 3.10, PB.

156 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ** (+ ★ - PB(1); IS-H(1).

157 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑՈՅ** (+\ \
KK(1).

158 4Ulanahar (+ ** Obv. Three dots under cross.
2.91, (89%); 2.89, (83%), PB; PH(1).

159 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑ

(+ X---

Obv. Three dots under cross or fleur de lys.

VM(i); KB(i).

160 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑ* WM(1). (- }--

160a **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑ** IS-H(1). (+ X. →:

160b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*Ց

IS-H(3).

(+ X---:

16oc *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑ* IS-H(1).

(+ X---

*ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ Է*1

[Non-artistic—no footstool]

161 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ** (+**** WM(3); VM(2); IS-H(7).

162 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ** (+ ጟ-

Obv. Three dots to right of fleur de lys.

2.92, (86%), PB; IS-H(1).

163 **4U**\$\(\text{M(1)};\) IS-H(2).

164 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ** (+ *** Obv. 7

Obv. Three dots under fleur de lys.

VM(1).

165 **4U**\$\(\text{M(I)}; \text{IS-H(I)}.



¹ Sometimes the footstool is barely visible.

165c 4Ulanhana (+ *** : IS-H(2); IS(1).

166 4UPNINAPPL UUSNASN (+ + : Obv. Sometimes dot to left of cross.

2.93, (83%), PB; VM(2); IS-H(2); IS(1).

167 **4U**PN\(\text{N}\) \(\text{PFL UUSN\(\text{VB}\)}\) \(\text{\constraint}\) \(\text{\constraint}\) \(\text{WM(1)}\); \(\text{IS(1)}\).

168 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ**WM(2); VM(1).

169 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ** (+★→ VM(1).

170 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ** (+ ፲ -

173 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑ**WM(1); IS-H(1).

175 **4U.P.P.Q.D.P.P.F.C. UUSN8** (+\frac{1}{2}.86, PB; WM(1); IS-H(1).

175b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑ*IS-H(I).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՅ Է

[Ornate obverse]

*176 **4UPNZNAPFL UUSNA9N8** PB(2); *BM(1).

176a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ* (+): • IS-H(1).

177 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ** (+); IS-H(1).

PB(I).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ Է

[Star instead of cross in the inscription circle]

181 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ ∗(+ **፲**-- Obv. / for Է

WM(I); IS-H(I).



183 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ*8 *(+ **፲**--:

184 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ* ***(+ ‡----**BN(1).

PB(1); VM(1); VM(1); AD(1); IS-H(2).

186 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ ×(+ ★-**3.10, PB; WM(2); IS-H(1).

> *ኒቴኑብኄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ8 י* (Artistic style)

187a **ዓ**ሀ/በጊበՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾበ**ሪ** () :

187b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ* IS-H(2).

187c *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*Ծ (*) IS-H(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՈՑ I

188a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ*' (* 【• — IS(2); IS-H(4).

188b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ'* IS-H(1). (* 1·

*189 *ԿԱՐՈ*ՂՈՒ*ԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*Ծ

*WM(4); VM(2); KB(1); IS-H(5).

ԼԵՒՆ **ԹԱԳ**ԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ '

(Artistic style)

190 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ**8

(* \ \

190a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*ԾՈ



IS(1).

IS(2).

WM(2).

190b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*Ծ

* 1---

ԼԵՒՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ Է

*igi *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ* (+ ፲ - - *WM(i).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑԱՍՑ

[Distinctive design—no footstool]

*192 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*ԾՈ (*- វ ·:

2.94, PB; *WM(r); MM(r); IS-H(3); IS(2).

193 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՈՏՈՒԾ

WM(2).

194 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՈՏՈՒ*Ծ (Վ - X

3.05, PB; WM(1); AD(1); MM(1); IS-H(1).



194b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ*Ծ (Վ. X....:: IS(2).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑԱՍՑ¹

[Distinctive design—with footstool]

195 YUPNINAPE UUSNAVN • (+ ** Rev. Non artistic. WM(1); IS-H(1).

*196 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ*WM(2); PH(1); *AD(1).

198 4UPNZNHA (+): 2.86; 2.85, PB; AD(1); WM(1); IS(2); IS-H(2); HE(1).

200 **4U**\$\(\text{M}\(\text{T}\)\(\text{NK}(\text{r}); \text{MM}(\text{r}); \text{IS}(\text{I}); \text{S-H}(\text{r}).

201 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՈՏՈՒԾ •\$** (* \ 2.95, PB; WM(2); IS-H(3).

201a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՈՏՈՒ*Ծ (* * :: IS-H(2).

201b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՈՏՈՒ*Ծ (* \ :: IS-H(2).

202 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՈՏԻԾ** (***: 2.79, PB; WM(1); NK(1); IS-H(1).

¹ All of the crosses seem to have a • in the middle, whenever uncertain it was omitted.



ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅԱՍՑ

[Two dots on obverse]

203 **ΥΥΡΡΩΠΑΡΓΙ ΥΥΝΙΑΝΤΙΒ** (+ ** : Rev. Non artistic. MM(1); IS-H(3).

204 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ** (Կ) .: WM(I).

206a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՈՏՈՒ*Ծ (፲ ፫ ·

207 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ** 2.95, PB.

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑՈ

*208 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ**PB(1); *WM(2); VM(1).

208a **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ**IS(1); IS-H(3).



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209 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ** WM(1); VM(1). (* X-

210 ዛԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՌԾՈ

(* }

2.93, (90%), PB; HK(1); MM(1); IS-H(2).

211 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*Ծ

(* \

WM(1); MM(1); IS(1); IS-H(1).

212 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾ

\ \

PB(i); KK(i); WM(i); IS-H(i).

212a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ* IS-H(1). (* X-

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈՑՈ

212b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾI*

IS-H(1).

IS-H(2).

- -

212c *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ*Ծ

()

212d **Կ**ሀՐበጊበኑ**ሎF**Ն **ԱՍՏበ**Ծ IS-H(7). ()

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՈՑՈ

213 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ** WM(1).



*****214 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*Ծ



2.84; 2.78, (82%), PB; *WM(4); IS-H(7).

214a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾ* IS-H(1).

214b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ* IS-H(6).



ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑԱՈՑ

215 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*ԾՈ (1 🚶 ·:

216a **4U** / M / M / M / M / IS-H(1).

219 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՈՏՈՒԾ**WM(1); IS-H(1).

220 **4U**\$\(\text{P}\)\(\text{P}\)\(\text{F}\)\(\text{USU}\)
2.95, PB.

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑԱ

*221 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*Ծ (+ ፲ - (?)

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՈՑ*

221a 4U/N\(\Omega\)/\(\Pri\) \(\sigma\) \(\sigma\) \(\sigma\) \(\sigma\) \(\sigma\) \(\sigma\) \(\sigma\)



*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ8*

[Artistic style]

221b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ / <mark>‡ ች</mark>፦* IS-H(1).

*222 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ**ԾՈՑ 🙀

2.85; 2.90, (87%); 2.64, PB; PB(5); KK(1); AD(3); NK(1); KB(2); BM(1); PH(4); HK(8); *WM(17); MM(1); BN(3); IS(1); EB(3); IS-H(32).

227 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ** (* 【---- WM(1); AA(1); AD(2); MM(1); IS(1); IS-H(6).

229 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ**WM(2); HK(1); VM(1); IS(2); IS-H(4).

230 4UL MUNAPPE UUSAPOAN (1).



232 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ**BN(I).

232a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ*8 🚼 🗕 IS-H(1).

232b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ* (Հ.) IS-H(2).

3.05, PB; PB(1); AD(1); WM(4); AN(1); VM(1); PH(1); MM(1); BN(3); ER(1); IS(5); IS-H(8); JG(5).

2.83, (80 %); 3.20, PB; WM(1); AD(1); MM(2); BN(1); IS(1); IS-H(3).

235a **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ**IS-H(3).

235c **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ**י (T.).
IS-H(1).

2.90; 2.40, PB; PB(2); VM(5); WM(4); HK(3); AD(3); AN(1); MM(2); BN(6); IS(2); IS-H(21).



240a **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ**IS-H(4); JG(1).

240c 4UPMINAPPL UUSAPVA Rev. Dot to right of cross.

241 4UPNZNAFT UUSNATA (1); WM(1); ER(2); IS(4); IS-H(12).

242 **4U**(1); IS-H(1).

243 **4U**\$\(\bar{\Pi}\)\(\bar{\P

243b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾՈՅ*IS(1).

243c *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾՈՅ* (Հ.).
IS-H(ɪ).

3.05, PB; WM(10); HK(4); VM(1); AN; KK(1); MM(3); BN(1); IS(3); IS-H(12).



*256 ዓሀያበጊበት ውጭ ሀሀያበ (*** Obv. Very small 8.**
*VM(3); WM(1); IS-H(22); JG(1).

257a 4ULUSI (F.H(3).

258 4UL MI NA PAR UUS

WM(2); VM(2); IS-H(13).

258b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍ* (ኣ ኒ -

ጊԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

[King's crown entirely within circle]

260 **4U.P.N.J.N.P.F.E. U.U.S.N.P.O.N.B** (***); WM(3).

262 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ**VM(1); BN(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ8

[Cross entirely within circle]

264 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ** (***: 3.1, PB; HK(1); IS-H(4).

265 **4UPMINAPPI UUSMA** (***: 3.05, PB; MM(1); IS-H(7).

*266 \(\mathrm{\matrim{\mathrm{\mathrm{\mathrm{\mathrm{\mathrm{\matrim{\matrim{\matrim{\mathrm{\mathrm{\matrim{\matrim{\matrim{\matrim{\matrim{\matrim{\mirr\m{\mirr\m{\mirr\m{\mirr\m{\mirr\m{\mirr\m{\mirr\m{\mirr\m

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

[Rev. Coronation type cross]

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ8*

[King's left foot turned outward]¹
[Reverse non-artistic]

*267 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ (+¾-2.99, (87%), PB; *WM(1); MM(1); IS-H(5).

¹ It is noteworthy that while the obverse represents a distinctive and characteristic design, the reverse shows several varieties.



269 YUPNZNKPFL UUSNK8N8 (+******: 2.90, PB; WM(I); IS-H(2).

270 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ***Ց** (+ ፲ → : WM(2); IS-H(1).

271 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ** (+\ \ 2.87, (81 %), PB.

272 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ** (+ ፲ - WM(2).

273 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ**WM(1); VM(1).

274 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑՈ* (+॥••
PB(I).

*լեՒՈ*Ն *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ*

[King's left foot turned outward] [Rev. artistic]

*275 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՈՏՈՒԾՈ** (* ** ::
2.95, *PB; WM(2); AD(1); MM(1); IS-H(2); JG(1).

277 YUPNINKAFE UUSNKO (***):

279 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՒԾ* (+ **)
PB(1).

280 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ*Ծ (*) WM(I).



*28፤ *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ* (፤ *WM(2); MM(1); IS-H(2).

282 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏԻԾ**(?) (****: WM(1).

*283 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՅՈԱԾ *NK(1).

283a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՒ* (★) : IS-H(I).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

[Ornate design—with footstool]

285 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ** (+) PB(1); WM(1); AA(1).

287 **\UINNINAPPE UUSIINBII3** (+\frac{1}{3}.05; 2.93 (90 %); 2.56; 2.98, (96 %), PB; WM(2); IS(1); IS-H(6).

288a ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ (+ ¥;→→ IS-H(7); AM(1); JG(1).

288b אער ארווstic cross. IS-H(2).



291 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ* (+ ፲ · · · ·

292 **4U**\$\(\text{U}\)\(\text{N}\)\(\text{T}\)\\\\(\text{VM}(\text{I})\).

293 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ* (+ ፲٠----WM(1).

294 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ** (1.15) Rev. Artistic cross. 2.95, PB.

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

[Ornate design—no footstool]

*295 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ* (+‡ → *WM(2); MM(1); IS-H(2).

300 **4U**\$\(\text{N}\)\(\text{N}\)\(\text{Fit UUS}\(\text{N}\)\(\text{8}\)\(\text{1}\)\(\text{1}\)\(\text{2}\)\(\text{3}\)\(\text{3}\)\(\text{5}\)\(\text{7}\)\(\text{1}\)\(\text{1}\)\(\text{2}\)\(\text{1}\)\(\text{2}\)\(\text{1}\)\(\text{2}\)\(\text{1}\)\(\text{2}\)\(\text{1}\)\(\text{2}\)\(\text{1}\)\(\text{2}\)\(\text{1}\)\(\text{2}\)\(\te

300a 4U. PM N N PF UUS N N S N (+ - → 1 S - H(1).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ*

[Star instead of cross in inscription circle]

2.90, PB; PB(1); WM(3); MM(1); BN(1); IS(1); IS-H(9).

*303 4ULMINANAPE UUSAAVA818 Obv. Sometimes star to or 4ULMINANAPE UUSAA818 left of cross.

3.04, (93%); 2.88, (93%), PB; PB(3); *VM(5); WM(3); AD(3); KB(1); MM(1); BN(3); IS(2); IS-H(15).

304 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*Ծ*ՈՑ* **×(+ ★→**・ or *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ*

2.86, (89%); 2.82, (88%), PB; PB(1); WM(3); BM(1); AD(1); IS(2); IS-H(5); JG(1).

305 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ ***(+ | |** or ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ

WM(2); VM(1); AN(1); IS(1); IS-H(1).

- 306 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ*or *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ*WM(2).
- 307 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ* *(+ 【 · or *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ* WM(1); MM(1).
- 309 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ** *(+ 【• -

3.00; 2.54; 2.70, PB; PB(3); KK(1); VM(1); WM(1); BN(1).



310 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ* ×(+ 🛣 → or *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ*

PB(1); WM(13); VM(1); HK(1); MM(1); BN(1); IS-H(15); HE(2); EB(2).

3.05; 3.00, (85%); 2.85, PB; WM(3); MM(1); IS-H(3).

313 *ԿԱՐՈ*ՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ *(+ **፲**----

2.95; 3.10; 2.86, (90%), PB; WM(1); KK(1); IS(2); IS-H(18).

314 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ *(+ 🛣 or ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ
AA(1); BN(1); HE(1).

314a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*ԾՈ ×(+-**)** IS-H(1).

314b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*Ծ*Ո* *(* [*--

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

[No footstool]

315 4UPNLN + PFL UUSN + 8N8 ×(+ 1/4-

316 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ* *(+ 【 or *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ* 2.55, PB; AD(1); IS-H(2). 317 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ *(+ ***

OF ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ

WM(3); MM(1).

318 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ*8 *(+ 【* - or *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ* 2.59, PB; NK(1); IS-H(1); JG(1).

*319 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ *(+ \ ** - • 3.10, *PB; IS-H(2).

319a **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ *(+ * +** IS-H(2).

320 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՍԻԾՈ ★(+---**2.84, PB.

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ*¹

*321 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ (+ 🔭 * Rev. Inscription upside-down.

Obv. Different dies.

2.80, *PB; WM(1); MM(1).

3212 4ULTILINAPEL UUSINATI (+ ** Rev. Inscription upside-down.

Obv. Different dies.

IS(2); IS-H(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

[With footstool—non-artistic]

¹ See other examples in Nos. 673–680c.



*323 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ (+\----

2.94, PB; *WM(2); VM(1); AD(1); PH(1); MM(1). IS-H(4); JG(1).

324 4UPMINAPPE UUSMP8N8 (+X Obv. Sometimes with dots.

PB(1); WM(4); PH(3); AD(1); KB(1); HK(1); MM(3). IS-H(10).

325 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ** (+ ** ÷ 2.95, PB; AN(1).

326 **4U**\$\(\text{P}\)\(\text{\P}\)\(\text{P}\)\(\text{E}\)\(\text{2.95}\), 2.77, PB; PB(1); PH(1); IS-H(4).

327 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ** (+\ \ BM(1); VM(1); IS-H(2).

*328 YUPNINAPFI UUSNAPNB (+ ** Obv. Three dots to right of fleur de lys.

WM(2); *VM(1); AD(1); IS-H(3); JG(1).

330 **4U**\$\(\text{N}\)\(\text{T}\)\(\text{N}\)\(\text{Fit UUS}\(\text{N}\)\(\text{R}\)\(\text{I}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{H}\)\(\text{I}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{H}\)\(\text{I}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{H}\)\(\text{I}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{H}\)\(\text{I}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{H}\)\(\text{I}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{H}\)\(\text{I}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{H}\)\(\text{I}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{H}\)\(\text{I}\)\(\te

331 **4U**\$\(\text{N}\)\(\text{N}\)\(\text{Fit UUS}\(\text{N}\)\(\text{8}\)\(\text{1}\)\(\te

335 YUPMINAPPE UUSAPBAB (+X Obv. Three dots to right of fleur de lys.

MM(I); IS-H(I).

336a **Կ**ԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ (+ ች፦ : IS-H(2).

336b 4Ulanante (+ ** Rev. Two dots with cross.

337 **\U\langle n\ullet n\ullet \ullet \ullet**

*339 **\UPPLINAPPI UUSII\BI** (\(\frac{1}{2}\) \cdots \(\text{Obv}\). Some with four dots under fleur de lys. 2.78, (85%), PB; *WM(4); VM(2); IS-H(7); HE(1).

340 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ** (+ X → : WM(2); VM(1); HK(1); PH(1).

341 4UPMINAFILUUSAFAA (+ Obv. Three dots under fleur de lys.
2.85, PB; WM(1); VM(2); PH(1); IS-H(3).

342 **4U**\$\(\text{N}\)\(\text{PB}(\text{I}); \(\text{VM}(\text{I}); \(\text{AN}(\text{I}).\)

343 **4U**\$\(\text{P}\)\(\text{LUS}\(\text{N}\)\(\text{P}\)\\\\(\text{1}\)\(\text{PB(1)}\); \(\text{WM(1)}\); \(\text{VM(1)}\); \(\text{MM(1)}\); \(\text{IS-H(2)}\).



346 YUPNINAPI (+ X Obv. Three dots under fleur de lys.

WM(1).

347 **\(\mathreal{U}\)\(\overline{\rho}\)\(\psi**

354 4UPNZNNPFL UUSNNBN (+): PB(1); IS-H(1).

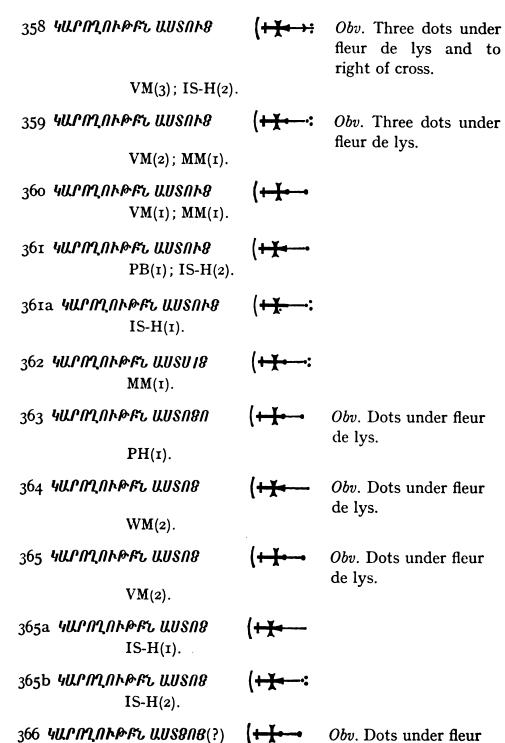
354a 4UPNZNHPFL UUSNHPN (+ 15 Obv. Star to left of cross.

IS-H(1).

356 4UPNINHAFI UUSNHS (+X-Obv. Three dots under fleur de lys.

WM(1); VM(1); IS-H(2).

357 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑ** (+ ፲ - - : VM(2).





WM(1).

de lys.

367 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ/8

(+ X---

Obv. Dots under fleur de lys.

WM(2); MM(2).

MM(I).

368 *ԿԱՐՈ*ՂՈՒ*ԹԲ*Ն ԱՍՏ8

(+ X→--:

369 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՑ*

(+X---

PB(1); IS-H(5); IS(1).

[Semi or non-artistic]

[No footstool]

*370 **\UPPLINTO PFL UUSIN \UPPLINTO \\ (\frac{1}{2} \)***VM(1); PH(1); IS(1).

371 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ Է (+\

Obv. Three dots to right of fleur de lys.

WM(1); VM(1).

372 4UPNZNhPROB & (+ X --- Obv. Three dots above fleur de lys.

WM(1).

373 4ULTALANAPE UUSAAPAA (+ ** Obv. Dots above cross and fleur de lys.

WM(1); MM(1); IS-H(3).

374 4UPMINAPPL UUSMASMS (+X-- Obv. Sometimes with three dots.

WM(1); VM(1); KB(1); IS-H(10).

*375 YUPNINAPPL UUSNABNB (+ **** Obv. Sometimes with three dots.

*KK(1); PH(2); MM(1); IS-H(3).



376 **ԿԱՐՐՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ** (+\\ KK(1); PH(1); VM(1); IS-H(5).

377 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ** (+\
PH(1); IS-H(2).

378 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ** (+ X----- 3.00, PB; IS-H(I).

379 YUPNINAPE UUSNABNA (+X- Obv. Three dots under fleur de lys.

VM(1); IS-H(3).

380 YUPNINAPEL UUSNABNO (+ ** Obv. Three dots under fleur de lys.

VM(1); IS(1); IS-H(5).

380a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ* (+‡፡-:
IS-H(7).

38ob *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ*8 (+]: - IS-H(2).

382 **4U**\$\(\Pi\)

383 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ** (+ *** : 2.84, (83 %), PB; PB(1); WM(2).

384 **4U**\$\(\mathbb{P}\)\(\mathbb{P}\)\(\mathbb{V}\)\(\mathbb{M}(\mathbb{I});\(\mathbb{V}\)\(\mathbb{M}(\mathbb{I}).\)

386 YUPMINAPPL UUSMAN (Obv. Three dots above fleur de lys and sometimes to right of cross.

WM(4); MM(1); IS-H(6).

387 4UPMINAPEL UUSAPAN (+X- Obv. Three dots under fleur de lys.

VM(2); VM(1); MM(1); IS-H(2).

388 YUPNINAPFI UUSNAPN (+ X ---- Obv. With or without dots.

WM(1); VM(1); AD(1); IS-H(4).

389 4UPMINAPFL UUSMASM (+X- Obv. With or without dots.

VM(2); WM(1); BN(2); IS-H(2).

391 **4U**PN\N\PF\ UUSN\P\N\(\frac{+\frac{1}{2}\ldots}{\text{VM(1)}}.

392 **4U**\$\(\text{\$\pi\$}\)\(\te

393 **4U**\$\(\text{N}\)\(\text{PF} \(\text{U}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{F}\)\(\text{HK}(1); IS-H(6).

393c *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ* (+‡-

394 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑ (+**¥-WM(4); VM(5); PH(1); IS-H(7).

395	<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ց	(+ X
	VM(2); $VM(1)$; IS	-H(2).

KK(1); PH(1).



400 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑ* Obv. ZN3N8. 2.56, (83%), PB.

40፤ *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԼ* WM(1).

402 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՑ Obv. Three dots under fleur de lys.

MM(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

[Artistic—with footstool]

402a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ* IS-H(3).

403 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՌԾՈՅ AD(I).

404 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ IS-H(1).

404a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ*ՐԾՈ MM(1); IS-H(7).

404b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ*ՐԾՈ IS-H(1).

404c *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ*ՌԾՈ IS-H(1).

*VM(i); MM(i).

405a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*Ծ IS-H(4).

405b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*Ծ IS-H(1).















405c	ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾ
	IS-H(3).







*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ*

[No footstool—artistic]

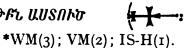
407 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ!* HK(1); IS-H(2).



407a **ዛ**ሀ*ՐበጊበՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ'* IS-H(3).



*₄₀8 *ԿԱՐՈ*ՂՈՒ*ԹԲ*Ն ԱՍՏՈՒԾ



40**8a** *ԿԱՐՈ***ՂՈՒ**Թ**Բ**Ն ԱՍՏՈՒԾ



408b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*Ծ IS-H(1).

IS-H(2).



409 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԼ* WM(1); VM(1).



[With footstool and artistic cross within circle]



ጊԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

[With footstool and non-artistic]

416 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ Է (+ X → : VM(1).

416a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ Է* (+ } ...: IS-H(1).

417 **4U**\$\(\text{\$\pi\$}\) \(\text{\frac{1}{4}}\)
2.92, (84%); PB; VM(3); IS-H(1).

418 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ (+X----:** 2.79, (92%), PB; VM(1); MM(1); IS-H(3).

420 YUPMINAPFL UUSNASNA (+X- Obv. Dots under fleur de lys.

MM(1).

420a **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ** (+ ፫፡ - : IS-H(1).

420b **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ** (+ ፲ - : IS-H(1).

420c *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ* (+ ፬ - - IS-H(1).

422 YUPMINAPI (+ X Obv. Sometimes three dots under fleur de lys. KK(1); WM(2); VM(1); ER(1); IS-H(7).



423a ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ (+ ՟՟ : IS(ɪ); IS-H(ɪ).

424 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*8 (+ ፲ VM(2); IS-H(2).

425 **4U**\$\(\text{U}\)\(\text{I}\)\(\text{Figures UUSIL8}\)\(\text{VM(2)}; \(\text{IS-H(I)}\).

426 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑ** (+***? VM(1); IS-H(5).

427 ካሁቦበጊበት ውጭ ዚህያብት የ (+ጟ Obv. Three dots under fleur de lys.

VM(1).

*ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ*¹

[No footstool and non-artistic]

428 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ Է (+ X----• VM(I).

429 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ1ՑՈՑ (+***: 2.94, (80%), PB; PH(I); WM(I); IS-H(I).

431 4UPMINAPPE UUSMISMS (+X- Obv. Three dots under fleur de lys.

VM(1); IS-H(1).

431a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԼՑՈՅ* (+ ¾ - - : IS-H(2).

431b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ18ՈՅ* (+ ፲• --- IS-H(ɪ).

1 Sometimes the dot at the end of the cross is very faint.



Obv. Three dots under

Obv. Three dots under

fleur de lys.

fleur de lys.

432 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ VM(1); IS-H(2). (+ X→ 433 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ WM(2); MM(1); IS-H(9). 434 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ (+ * MM(1); IS-H(2). 434a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ* IS-H(4). 434b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ* IS-H(1). 434c *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ* IS-H(1). 434d *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ* IS-H(1). 435 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԼՑ VM(1); IS-H(4). 436 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԼՑ* VM(1); IS-H(1). 437 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԼՑ VM(1); IS-H(1). *438 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑ *WM(1). WM(I). 440 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑ WM(1); IS-H(1). 440a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑ* IS-H(1).



440b¹ **Կ**ԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ IS-H(1).



ጊԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

[Distinctive design—no dot on L]

44፤ ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ WM(1).

*442 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ

2.60, (77%), PB; *AD(1); WM(1); IS(1); IS-H(1).

443 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ

2.58, PB; MM(1).

444 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ AD(I).

444a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՌԾ*

IS-H(1).

445 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾ

2.95, PB.

445a ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՅՈԱԾ/

IS-H(1).

445b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՑՈԱԾ* IS-H(2).

ፒ*ԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ*

[Dot on \mathcal{L}]

*446 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ

(**

WM(2); *HK(1); VM(2); IS-H(5).

¹ The artistic cross on the reverse may indicate transition from one type to another.



447 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*Ծ WM(1). (1 \ .:

448 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ*Ծ

(* * ·:

WM(1); BN(1).

[Inverted b—dot on L]

(** \

*WM(4); VM(1); IS-H(2); IS(1).

450 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ۴*Ն ԱՍՏՌԾ

(*-¥---

451 *ԿԱՐՈ*ՂՈՒ*ԹF*Ն ԱՍՏՈԾ

3.10, PB.

(****

2.95, PB; VM(1); IS-H(1).

*452 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՅՈԱԾ

(+)

*WM(2); MM(1); IS-H(2).

453 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՑՈԱԾ

(** \ .:

WM(1); MM(1).

ፒ*ዮՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ*

[Inverted b—dot on L—no footstool]

454 *ԿԱՐՈ*Ղ*ՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ*Ց (+ ፲<

WM(2); IS-H(1).

*455 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ (+‡<---

WM(i); *HK(i).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

AD(1); WM(1); IS-H(1).

¹ It is often impossible to tell whether there is a dot in the middle of the cross or not.

457 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ* *(+ ፲ - or *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ* 3.05, PB; WM(1); IS-H(1); JG(1).

458 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ* ***(+ \}-**•
or *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ*2.70, (83 %), PB; WM(3); IS-H(4); AM(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՈ8

[Obverse and reverse artistic]

459 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ
WM(2); IS-H(1).

460 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ*WM(5); VM(1); PH(1); IS-H(7).

461 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ*WM(3); IS-H(2).

462 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ '*WM(3).

464a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ '* IS-H(4).

466 4UPNZNHPFL UUSNHO (2.77; 2.60, (95 %); 2.72, PB; WM(I).

467a **4U**\$\(\text{\$\text{\$\frac{4}{2}\$}\).

468 **4UPNZNAPFI UUSNA**WM(1); VM(1); IS-H(3).

468a 4ULTULUNA (*).

469 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾ**WM(1).

469a **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾ** (Կ Լ - - - - ։ IS-H(2).

470 **ΨυΓΠΩΠΙΦΕΈ ԱՍՏΠ**WM(1); VM(1); BN(1); IS-H(1).

[No footstool—artistic style]

470b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*ԾՈ (* 【• — IS-H(4).

470c **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ**Ծ ' \\ \\ IS-H(5).

472 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*Ծ PH(I).



472a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ۴Ն ԱՍՏՈՒ*Ծ IS-H(I).



*473 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ



PH(1); *NK(1); IS-H(1).

473a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ* IS-H(1).



474 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾ* WM(1).



475 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ* WM(1).



*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՈ8*

[Non-artistic—no footstool]

*476 \(\frac{4UPN\n\ph\ph\ph\tau\tau\s\n\ph\s\n\s\n\s\n\\\\\\alpha\rangle\tau\tau\rangle

477 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑበ***ሪ** (+ ፫፡ - - AD(1); IS-H(2).

477a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ* (+) IS-H(2).

479 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ** (+) WM(1).



480 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑ
VM(I).

481 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑ
HK(I).

4812 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑ
IS(I).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՈՑ

[Star instead of cross in inscription circle]

*PB(1); WM(1).

482b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ* **×(+ <u>↓</u>←** IS-H(r).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՐ* ՀԱՈՑ¹

[Obverse semi-artistic—reverse artistic]

2.42, PB; PH(1); IS-H(7).

*485 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ**ԾՈ **(*)**

2.83, 3.17, (96%), PB; WM(4); *NK(1); BM(1); HK(1); KK; VM(2); IS-H(4).

485a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ* (Հ. ၂․ - - IS-H(1).

1 In some cases it is ZUNB.



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*ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*Ծ (፣ 【- - : 2.77, (91 %); 2.88, PB; NK(1); IS-H(5).

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾWM(1); PH(1); IS-H(1).

*ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*Ծ **Հ. ፲** ፡፡ WM(3).

4U\$\(\text{U}\)\(\text{PF} \\ \text{UUS}\(\text{I}\)\\
2.87, (91%), PB; WM(3); MM(1); IS-H(11).

*ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ |*WM(2); IS-H(1).

4UPMINAFE UUSNI3.06, PB; WM(2); PH(1); IS-H(3).

4U.P.P.L.P.P.F.E. U.U.S.P.To2.76, (91 %), PB; PH(1); IS-H(2).



*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՈՑ*

[No footstool—reverse artistic]

509 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ**WM(1).

510 4UPNINAPPI UUSNATN (*)-

511 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ**WM(1).

512 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ'**WM(1); IS-H(4).

514 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ**WM(2); IS-H(2).

516 4U. P. P. L. U. S. T. W. W. (4); P. H. (1); I. S. H. (1).

*517 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾ**WM(2); *HK(1); IS-H(2).

518 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ**WM(1); VM(1); IS-H(3).

519 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ** PH(2).

520 ΥΥΓΩΩΝΑΡΕ UUSI WM(1); IS-H(1). HK(1); IS-H(3).

521a **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ** IS-H(2). (* }

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՈ8*

[Obverse and reverse non-artistic]

*523 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՁՈՑ (+ ፲ - ፡፡ WM(ɪ); *BM(ɪ); IS-H(5).

527 **ካ**ሆቦቢበሉ**ዶኖኒ ዚህ**\$በ**ሉ8**በ**8** (+ ፲ ፡- :

529 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑ**HK(1); IS-H(2).

531 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑ* (+ ★ → S WM(1).

(+ X • ---:

533 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑ* MM(1). (+X---:

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒ*Ր ՀԱՈՑ

[No footstool—non-artistic]

534 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ* (+ ፲፡---፡፡ WM(1); IS-H(3).

534a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ* (+ ፲ - -

534b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ***ሪ (+莱**-

535 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ**WM(1); IS-H(1).

535a **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ** (+ ፲• -- IS(r); IS-H(4).

535b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ* (+ ፲ ፡- ፡፡ IS-H(ɪ).

*536 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑ***WM(2); HK(1).

536a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*8 (+ ፲ - - - IS-H(3).

537 **4U**\$\(\text{P}\)\(\text{N}\)\(\text{PFL UUSN8}\)
2.78, (75 \%), PB.

538 4U/N\N\PFL UUSN8
WM(1); IS-H(3).

539a *ԿԱՐՈ*Ղ*ՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՑՈ* IS-H(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՈ8

[Star in inscription circle]

540 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ or *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ* WM(2); IS-H(1).

54፤ *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*ԾՈ or *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ* WM(I); IS-H(I).

*542 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑ HK(i); *MM(i).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՑ

[Artistic style]

543 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ PB(I).

544 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ 2.90; 2.90, PB; PB(1); WM(2); AA(1); PH(1); HK(1); IS-H(3); JG(1).

*545 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ *WM(1).

546 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՌԾՈՅ KK(1); AD(1); HK(1); WM(4); VM(1); KB(1); MM(1); BN(1); IS-H(3).

13*

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547 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ**WM(3); AN(1); IS-H(2).

549 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՐԻԾՈ**2.53, PB; VM(1); MM(1); BN(3); IS(1); IS-H(2).

550 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾՈՅ**AD(1).

3.00, (88%), PB; WM(I).

*ኒ*ሁኑኒ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ*

[Artistic style]

*552 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ

2.95; 3.01, (92%); 2.96, (96%,) PB; PB(1); *WM(4), VM(1); AN(1); HK(1); PH(1); AA(1); KK(1); HE(1); EB(1); IS(1); IS-H(6).

553 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*Ծ*ՈՅ* PB(ɪ).

554 4ULUSUKUSUKUSU (** **).

WM(1); MM(1); IS-H(1).

3.01, (90%), PB.

556 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*Ծ*Ո*8 (ᠯ 】 MM(ɪ). LUSINGIB (* 1

PB(1); WM(4); VM(3); BN(1); IS(2); IS-H(2).

557a אנגראת ארדי עונאראטאון Rev. Dot to left of cross. IS-H(1).

558 558 **ዓ**ሀታ በጊብ ት **ም**ፑር ሀሀያ በት የመ 2.95; 2.93; 3.03, PB; PB(1); WM(2); AD(1); IS-H(3).

559 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ**ΜΜ(1); IS-H(1).

561 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ**WM(2); NK(1); AD(1); IS(1); IS-H(3).

562 **4U.P.M., N.P.F. U.U.S.N.P.T.** MM(1).

ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

566 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*ԾՈ (1- \ MM(ɪ).

ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՑՈՑՈ

567 **ΨԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ**Ծ WM(2); IS-H(1).

*568 441/171/11/11/11/10 (** **); WM(5); MM(1).

LENE PUPULNI! ★ 2U3 ★ 18 +¹)

569 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ* (+ ፲• ---

569a **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ** (+ ፲ • IS-H(2).

570 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ* (+ ፲ - WM(2); MM(2); IS-H(1).

571b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՑՈՅ* IS-H(3).

1S(1). (+ **ξ**

*572 **Կ**ሀՐበጊበՒ**Թኖ**Ն **ԱՍՏՑ**በ *WM(5); VM(1); IS-H(4).

573 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ**AD(1).

¹ The gold coins of Levon-Hetoum are of this type.

IS-H(2).

573b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ* IS-H(1).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ*

[Artistic]

573c *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ '* IS-H(1).

574 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ

HK(I); IS-H(I).

IS(2); IS-H(4).

574b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ*Ծ

575 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ

IS-H(1).

AD(1); IS-H(3).

*₅₇6 *ԿԱՐՈ*ՂՈՒ*ԹԲ*Ն ԱՍՏ

*WM(2); VM(1); IS-H(9).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ

[Non-artistic]

577 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ



Obv. Ornate design.

578 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ

MM(I).

VM(1); BN(1).

579 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ 2.70, PB.

580 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ** (+*** • VM(1).

581 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑՈ** (+‡-:

582 4UPNINAPFL UUSNAG (+ ** Obv. Three dots under fleur de lys.

MM(I).

ፒԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ

[Dot on $\boldsymbol{\zeta}$]

583a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ* (Վ.). :

584 **ΨΩΓΠΩΠΙΑΘΡΈ UUSΠΙΑ**VM(1); HK(1); IS-H(3).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ

[Right foot turned outward]

*586 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾ (+ **):
(Inverted S)

*NK(1).

586a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ* (+ ★ :: IS-H(1).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՐ* ՀԱՑՈ

587 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ**WM(1); PH(1).

589 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՍ /**VM(1).

590 **4U**\$\(\overline{\text{VM}(I)}\).

*591 4UPNZNHOFT UUSI
*WM(2); IS-H(3).

592 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ**WM(1); IS-H(7).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ **ԹԱԳԱՒ**Ր ՀԱՑՈ

[Artistic—no footstool]

594 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*Ծ WM(I).

595 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ**Ծ (** **)
PH(1).

596 **4U**\$\(\text{\$\frac{1}{2}}\), PB; WM(2); VM(1); IS-H(9).

597 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ**WM(3); VM(3).

599 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾ**WM(4).

600 ΨΨΡΠζηκ**ρε** υυςησ (* **): WM(1); IS-H(9).

6οι *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ*WM(1); IS-H(1).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ*

[Non-artistic—no footstool]

602 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ* (+፲/፡፡ -- : MM(1).

602a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ* (+ ፲ - · · IS-H(I).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ

[Obv. somewhat ornate—rev. non-artistic—no footstool]

*603 YUPNINAPFU UUSNASNI (+\frac{1}{2} Obv. Three dots under fleur de lys. Ornate design.

*VM(1); NK(1).



VM(1); IS-H(1).

604a **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ** (+\\ \ IS-H(I).

VM(2); WM(1).

[Dot on *L*—left foot turned outward]

606a 4ULTALANAFE UUSAA (+):
(Inverted S)
IS-H(4).

*607 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ***WM(I); AD(I).

608 ΨԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾ (+); JG(1).

609 4UPNINAPFLUSNO (4) (Inverted S)
2.80, (78%), PB; WM(1).

610 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾ*(?) (+) WM(2).



ጊԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑ

[Left foot turned outward)

610b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑ* IS-H(3).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ*

[With footstool and artistic]

*613 4UPN\N\PFL UUSN\
*WM(1).

614 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ**Ι VM(1); IS(1); IS-H(6).

615 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ**HK(1); IS-H(3).

*ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ*¹)

[Non-artistic]

616 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ**KK(1); WM(1); VM(2); IS(1); IS-H(7).

1 The letter 8 in 2018 is often very small and simplified into a line.



ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ

[No footstool and artistic cross in circle]

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅ*

[No footstool and non-artistic]

Obv. Three dots under fleur de lys.

*WM(1).

630 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲ*Ն ԱՍՏՈ*Լ*

(+ X - - -

Obv. Three dots under fleur de lys.

VM(I).

ԼԵՒՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀՈՑ¹)

631 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ



PB(1); WM(2); VM(1); PH(1); MM(1); IS-H(13).

632 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ



2.66, (84%); 2.38, PB; WM(5); PH(2); VM(1).

633 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ

* }--

MM(1); IS(1); IS-H(6).

633a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ* ' IS-H(5). - X-

*634 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾ



2.83, (92%); 2.84, PB; *WM(10); VM(4); PH(1); AN(1); MM(1); IS-H(23).

(x).

635a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ*Ծ IS-H(2).

PH(2).

(* X-

636 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ

/- /-

2.90, 2.92, PB; HK(2); PH(2); NK(1); IS(1); IS-H(5).

¹ In some cases it is $\angle \Pi B$.



636a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏԼ* IS-H(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՈ

(+ X---

Obv. Three dots under fleur de lys.

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՈ

638 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑ

(+ X - .:

WM(1).

*VM(1).

*VM(1).

(+ X----

640 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑ*

(+ X→-:

PH(1); IS-H(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ /

[With footstool and artistic cross]

*641 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ /* *WM(1). (* }-

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱԼ

[With footstool and non-artistic cross]

642 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ* WM(1); IS-H(2).

(+ X-

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ

[With footstool]

*643 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑ

(?)

*VM(1).

644 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑ* WM(1). (+X-

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ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱ

[With footstool and artistic]

645 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ



WM(2); IS-H(3).

*646 *ԿԱՐՈ*ՂՈՒ*ԹԲ*Ն ԱՍՏ



*WM(1); IS(1); IS-H(5).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ

[No footstool—artistic cross]

647 *ԿԱՐՈ*ՂՈՒ**ԹԲ**Ն ԱՍՏՈ



ER(2); IS-H(6).

*648 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ*



*WM(2); VM(1); HK(3); IS-H(6).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱ

[With footstool—non-artistic cross]

649 **4U**\$\(\text{\$\pi\$}\) \(\frac{\frac{1}{2}}{2.76}\), \(\frac{82}{0}\), \(\text{PB}\); \(\frac{1}{2}\).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ

[No footstool—non-artistic cross]

*650 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ (+ 🛣 - *WM(1); VM(1); IS-H(4).

651 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑ* HK(1); IS-H(5).



[No footstool and artistic cross]

*653 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ
*WM(I); IS-H(6).

MM(1); IS-H(2).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

*655 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ***WM(2).

656 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ* (-]-----

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

[No footstool—non artistic]

656b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑ* (+ 其 - IS-H(1).

ԼԵՒՆ ԹԱԳԱՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

657a 4U. P. P. P. L. U. S. P. T. I. S. H. (1); I. S. (1).

14

210

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657c 4UPNZNIPER UUSNIPUN (IS(1); IS-H(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒԱՈ ՀԱՅ

*659 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ / *PB(I); IS-H(2).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ*

660 4UPNINAPEL UUSNAPN (+X Obv. Three dots under fleur de lys. Two dots under cross.

VM(2); IS(1).

*661 4UPMINAPE UUSMAS (+ X Obv. Three dots under fleur de lys. Two dots under cross.

3.06, (89%); 2.85, (88%), *PB; PB(1); VM(1).

Lily in Right Hand LENNE PUPUNN 2USN8

[King's left foot turned outward—no footstool]

*662 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ (+္-:
WM(1); *PB(1); IS-H(1).

662a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ* (+ ቿ፦ · ·፡ WM(1); MM(1).



662b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ* (+ ፲ ፡፡ IS(1); IS-H(2).

662d *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑՈ* (+ ‡• · · · JG(ɪ).

ፒԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

[Dot on $\boldsymbol{\zeta}$]

[King's left foot turned outward—with footstool]

662f **4U**\$\(\bar{U}\)\(\bar{V}\)\

[King's left foot turned outward—with footstool]

*663 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*Ծ (Կ 🛣 ·:

ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

663a ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ (+ 💢 • • IS-H(I).

664 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ**KK(1); WM(1).

664a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ* **»(+ }-**-•
IS-H(2).



140

665a ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՈՏՈՒԾ (Լ Լ

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ*

[King's left foot turned outward—no footstool]

IS-H(1).

665d *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲ ԱՑՈԱՏԻ* (*) : IS-H(2).

ጊԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՅՈ

666a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ* (+፲ -- IS-H(2).

1S-H(1).

667 **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՍԻԾ**(1.5-H(1).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ*: ՀԱ•Ց•**၉ %**

*668 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*Ծ (* * *WM(1).

669 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՅՈԱԾ* (***: WM(3); AN(1); AD(2); IS-H(2). 670 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՑՈԱՏԾ* WM(1).

(* *-:

*ኒեՒՈ*Ն *ԹԱԳԱՒՐ* ՀԱՑՈ•

*671 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՑՈԱԾ* *WM(2). (** \

፲ԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱ•ՒՈՐ ՀԱ•

Errors, Oddities, Etc.
[Non-artistic style]

673 Obv. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ Է Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ HK(1).

Rev. Inscription upside down.

*674 Obv. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ Է
Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ
*WM(1).

Rev. Inscription upside down.

Rev. Inscription upside down.

675 Obv. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ
Rev. ԿԱՐՂՈԹԲՆ(?) ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ Է
VM(1).

Rev. Inscription upside down.

675a Obv. LEHNL PUPULAN LUSAS Rev. YUPALALAR IS-H(2).

Rev. Inscription upside down.

675b *Obv. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ* IS-H(1).

Rev. Inscription upside down.

675c *Obv. Lbhn't PUPULM LUSAB Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ*IS-H(4).

Rev. Inscription upside down.

*676 Obv. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ HK(1); *VM(2); IS-H(4).

 Rev. Inscription upside down.

*678 Obv. **ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՈՑ** Rev. **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ** *WM(1). Rev. Inscription
upside down.

678a Obv. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑ IS-H(1). Rev. Inscription

→ ★→

upside down.

679 Obv. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՅՈ: Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ WM(1). Rev. Inscription

→ → →) × upside down.

680 Obv. LEHNE PUPUHNP ZUBNB Rev. YUPNZNHPFE UUSNHPN BN(I); IS-H(I). Rev. Inscription

→ → → → → →

upside down.

680a *Obv. Լ*ԵՒ*ՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑՈ8 Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ*HE(I).

 R_{ev} . Inscription upside down.



682 *Obv. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՅԻՐ ՀԱՅ | Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂ ՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ |*WM(1); HK(1).



*683 Obv. ԵՒՈՆԻ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԱՄԻ ԱԼՈՒՑՈՅ Է

*WM(1); IS-H(2).



683a Obv. ԵՒՈՆԻ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ
Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ
IS-H(3).



683b *Obv. ԵՒՈՆԻ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՈ*8 *Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ Է* IS-H(I).



683c *Obv. ԵՒՈՆԻ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ* IS-H(I).



684 Obv. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԱՄ ԱԼՈՒՑՈՑ Է WM(1).



685 Obv. ԼԵՒՈ ԹԱՆԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՈՑ Rev. ԿԱՐՐՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑ WM(1).



*686 Obv. LEHNE PUPULAR LUSAB L Rev. 41 MANAPE UUSALSAB *WM(1); IS-H(2).



687 C	Dbv. ԼԵՒ	በՆ ԹԱԳԱ	<i>ՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ</i>	8
I	Rev. ५เค เ	በጊበՒԹԲՆ	ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ	вķ
		WM(I);	IS-H(1).	



687a *Obv. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ8 Rev. ԿՄ በጊՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ8* IS-H(I).



688 Obv. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲԱՆ ԱՏԻԾՈ VM(1).



689 *Obv. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԱԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԼ* PB(1).



690 Obv. LENIL PUNUM LUSISSIS

Rev. 4UPILINAPFL UUSISSIS

2.83, PB.



691 *Obv. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹԲՆ Ե ԱՍՏՈՒԾ* WM(1).



692 *Obv. ԼԵՒՈ*Ն *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ8Ս Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԵԱՄԻՆ ԱՑ* MM(1).



693 Obv. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ:Ծ/ Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈΙԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ/



WM(I).

Rev. Crowns on both lions' heads.

694 *Obv. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑԱՑ Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ*....
PB(I).





(+ X---

COPPER COINS - TANKS

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒՈՑ

[Two dots on crown]

695 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ* + *
PB(I).

ኒեՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒՈ8

[Five dots on crown]

ኒեՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒՈ8

[Five dots on crown and single curl]

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒՈՑ

[Five dots on crown and two curls]

PB(I); KK(I); WM(5); *VM(I); KB(I); HK(2); AD(I); BN(I); HE(I).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒՈՑ

[Six dots on crown]

[Six dots on crown and single curl]

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՒՈՑ

[Seven dots on crown]

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒՈՑ*

[Seven dots on crown and single curl]

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒՈ8*

[Eight dots on crown]

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

[Five dots on crown]

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

[Five dots on crown and two curls]



ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

[Six dots on crown and single curl]

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՒՈ*

[Five dots on crown]

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒՈ*

[Five dots on crown]



ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ . ԱՅՒՈ

[Five dots on crown]

ጊԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒՈ

[Five dots on crown and single curl]

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒՈ

[Six dots on crown]



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ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒՈ

[Six dots on crown]

ኒԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒՈ

[Six dots on crown and single curl]

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՒՈ

[Six dots on crown and single curl]

ጊԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒՈ

[Six dots on crown and two curls]

755 & FLEUL F FULUFU F UFU WM(2).

լեՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒՈ

[Seven dots on crown]

*756 **THULL P FULLEU P UPU***VM(I); WM(I); BN(I).

757 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻ**VM(1); WM(1).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒՈ*

[Seven dots on crown and two curls]

758 **& FLEUL P PULUPU P UPU**WM(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒՍ

[Five dots on crown]

*759 & FLEUL F FULLEU F UFU - 1.9, *PB; WM(1).

*ጊ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՒՍ*

[Six dots on crown and two curls]

760 & FLEUL F RULURU F UFU XXXXIII WM(1).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒ*

[Five dots on crown]

ኒԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՒ

[Five dots on crown and single curl]

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՒ

[Six dots on crown]

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՒ

[Six dots on crown and single curl]



15

$$WM(2)$$
; $VM(1)$.

ኒԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒ

[Seven dots on crown and single curl]

FORGERIES

*77፤ Obv. **ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՑԱՍՑ**Rev. **ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՈՃԳՃԼԳ**/
[Silver]; *WM(3).

*772 Obv. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Rev. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ

*****773

[Copper]; *****WM(3).

*774 Obv. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳՐ ԱՄԵՆ ՀԱՅՈՑ

Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՌԾՈՑ

[Silver]; PB(1); HK(?).

*775 Obv. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳՐ ԱՄԵՆ ՀԱՅՈՑ Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾՈՅ

[Silver]; PB(1). [Gold]; *PB(1); WM(1); AA(3); AN(1); BM(1).



HETOUM I

BILINGUAL TRAMS

HETOUM – KAIKOBAD ¿ԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

*776 السلطان | المعظم علا الدن | كِقباد بن كا ا يخسرو Obv. Field mark. مرو Obv. Field mark. عبرو 2.79; 2.74; PB; 2.76; KK; AN(3); AA(3); NK(2); BM(3); AD(3); MM(2); VM(8); *WM(18); BN(5); HE(3); EB(1); JG(1).

*777 السلطان | المعظم علا الدين | كيفياد بن كا المخسرو Obv. Field mark. على الدين | كيفياد بن كا المخسرو Obv. Field mark. على 2.90, (90%), PB; *WM(3); BM(1); NK(1).

*778 السلطان | المعظم علا الدين | كقباد بن كا | يخسرو Obv. Field mark. بنا المعظم علا الدين | كقباد بن كا | يخسرو WM(2); *NK(1).

779 السلطان | المعظم علا الدين | كِقباد بن كا ا يخسرو Obv. Field mark. بنكا المعظم علا الدين | كِقباد بن كا المحضور WM(1); HE(2).

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

*781 Scroll السلطان المعظم | كقباد بن كيخسرو | Scroll Obv. Field mark. بم 2.74, PB; KK(1); *WM(1).

*782 Scroll السلطان المعظم اكتباد بن كيخسرو | Scroll Obv. Field mark. **

*VM(I).

*783 Scroll السلطان المعظم كيقباد بن كيخسرو | Scroll Obv. Field mark. * VM(I).

*784 Scroll السلطان المعظم اكتباد بن كيخسرو | Scroll Obv. Field mark. ***
*MM(1).

Digitized by Google

15*

HETOUM - KAIKHUSREW

[Without date]

ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

[Epigraphy similar to Kaikobad coins]

785 السلطان الاعظم | غياث الدنيا والدين | كيخسرو 785 بن كيقياد



MM(i); VM(i); *WM(i); BN(i).

786 السلطان الاعظم عياث الدنيا والدين | كيخسرو 786 بن كيقباد



*WM(4); VM(1); AN(1); BN(1).

*787 السلطان الاعظم عياث الدنيا والدين اكيخسرو 787 بن كيقباد



*VM(2); WM(1); AD(1).

788 السلطان الاعظم | غياث الدنيا والدين | كيخسرو 788 بن كيقباد



*WM(2).

789 السلطان الاعظم | غياث الدنيا والدين | كيخسرو 789 بن كيقباد



*BN(1).

790 السلطان الاعظم | غياث الدنيا والدين | كيخسرو 790 . Field mark بن كيقباد



BN(1).

791 السلطان الأعظم عباث الدنيا والدين كيخسرو المحسرو المحسرو



WM(1).

HETOUM - KAIKHUSREW

ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ•

792 Year 6[3] السلطان الأعظم | غياث الدنيا Obv. Field mark. والدين | كيخسرو بن كِقباد VM(1).



*793 Year 637 متمائة ضرب بسيس سنة ...ع Obv. Field mark. خبر بسيس سنة ...ع *BN(۱).



ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

السلطان الاعظم | غياث الدنيا والدين | كيخسرو | بن كبقباد

*794 Year 637 ضرب بسيس سنة سبع و Obv. Mint mark. خبر بسيس سنة سبع و *794 Year 637 و ستمائة

2.89, (92%), PB; 2.90, KK; AN(1); *WM(5); VM(3);

*795 Year 637 خرب بسبس سنة سبع و Obv. Field mark. dotsو ستمائة

> 2.61; 2.76; 3.00, (90%); 2.83; 2.94, (94%), *PB; 2.80, KK; WM(9); MM(1); VM(2); AN(1); AA(1); BM(1).

*796 Year 637 مرب بسیس سنة سبع و Obv. Field mark. بنیس سنة سبع و الاثین الاثین

*VM(1).

مرب بسیس سنة سبع و Obv. Field mark. ثلاثین 797 Year 637 BM(1); VM(1).

ضرب بسيس سنة سبع و Obv. Mint mark. ثلاثي*ن* و ستمائة *798 Year 637 WM(3); NK(1); *AN(1).

799 Year 637 ضرب بسيس سنة سبع و Obv. Field mark. ثلاثين VM(1).



Coinage of Cilician Armenia

HETOUM - KAIKHUSREW

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

[Style of lettering intermediate between Kaikobad and Kaikhusrew coins]

*800 Year 637

ضرب بسیس سنة سبع و Obv . Field mark. tw



KK(1); *AN(1); WM(1).

801 Year 637



WM(2); BM(1); JG(1).

802 Year 637 ضرب بسيس سنة سبع و Obv. Field mark. ثلاثين



WM(I).

*803 Year 637

و ستمانة



*KK(1).

804 Year 637 ضرب بسيس سنة سبع و Obv. Field mark. ثلاثين



WM(1).

ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ



*WM(1)



ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

WM(1).

AD(1); HE(1).

*****VM(1).

BN(1).

BN(i).

*VM(2).

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

*814 Year 640

Obv. Field mark. و ستمائة



AN(1); *HE(4); BM(2); AA(2).

*815 Year 640

ضرب بسيس سنة *Obv.* Field mark. و ستمائة



*WM(9); AN(1); WM(1); NK(1).

816 Year 640

ضرب بسیس سنة Obv. Field mark. اربعین



WM(1).

PB(1).

816a Year 640

صرب بسيس سنة Obv. Field mark. وستمائة



ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

817 Year 641

ضرب بسيس سنة احد Obv. Field mark.



WM(1).

818 Year 641

ضرب بسیس سنه احد Obv. Field mark. و اربعین و ستمائة



WM(1); BN(2).

*819 Year 641

مرب بسیس سنة احد Obv. Field mark. و اربعین



KK(1); *BM(1); HE(1).

VM(1).

VM(i); MM(i); *AD(i); BN(i).

WM(2).

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑՈՑ

*828 Year 643



WM(1); *MM(1); HE(1).

HETOUM - KAIKHUSREW

[Date not completely legible]

- 829 Date 64x Type 796 السلطان الاعظم | غياث الدنيا والدين | كيخسرو بن كيتباد PB(1).
- 830 Date 64× Type 796 WM(1); KK(1).
- 831 Date 64× Type 795 WM(2).
- 832 Date 64× Type 802 WM(1).
- 833 Date 64× Type 796 BN(1)
- 834 Date $63 \times \text{Type } 795$ BN(1).
- 835 Date $63 \times \text{Type } 795 \text{ WM}(1)$.

HETOUM - KAIKOBAD

BILINGUAL HALF TRAMS

ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ



ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ•

*838 | السلطان | المعظم علا الدين | كيقباد بن كا | Obv. Field mark. بنا المعظم علا الدين | كيقباد بن كا | المعظم علا الدين | كيقباد بن كا | بنا المعظم علا الدين | كيقباد بن كا | بنا المعظم علا الدين | كيقباد بن كا | بنا المعظم علا الدين | كيقباد بن كا | بنا المعظم علا الدين | كيقباد بن كا | بنا المعظم علا الدين | كيقباد بن كا | بنا المعظم علا الدين | كيقباد بن كا | بنا المعظم علا الدين | كيقباد بن كا | بنا المعظم علا الدين | كيقباد بن كا | بنا المعظم علا الدين | كيقباد بن كا |

HETOUM - KAIKHUSREW

BILINGUAL HALF TRAMS

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

السلطان الاعظم | غياث الدنيا والدين | Obv. Field mark. كيخسرو بن كبقباد ضرب بسيس مصرب بسيس AD(1).

HETOUM—ZABEL

TRAMS

Cross with star—lion holding cross

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ'—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՅ Ե

*842 **\(\text{thenkt}\) buhukm \(\text{UBN8}\)**2.88 (90 %); 3.00 (95 %), PB; *MM(1).



843 *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑՈ8* 2.89 (90 %, PB.

844 *ՀԵԹՈՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ* + ×-

*ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՑ Ե*¹

*845 \(26\Ph\U \Pu\U\Pu\U\Pm \Z\U\B\U\B\); \(\frac{1}{2}\Pm \Rightarrow \Rightarrow \Pm \Pm \Rightarrow \Pm \Rightarrow \Rightarrow \Rightarrow \Rightarrow \Pm \Rightarrow \R

846 *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ* [*b*] - 1(** 3.00; 2.90; 2.87 (95%), PB; WM(2); MM(1).

847 *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄԻ ՀԱՑՈՑ* [*b*] ፡ *; ** *ՀԵՈՒՄ* (AN). WM(1); AP(1); PH(1); AN(1).

850 **\(\begin{align*} \(\begin{align*} \therefore \text{VBN8} \] \(\begin{align*} \frac{\dagger}{4!} \therefore \dagger \end{align*} \) \(\dagger \dagger**

851 *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ8* 2.78, PB.

853 **\(\text{PhiNV} \(\therefore\) \(\text{VBN} \) \(\text{VBN} \) \(\text{PE}(1); \(\text{VM}(3); \text{NK}(1); \(\text{PH}(1). \) \(\text{PH}(1). \)**

854 26 PAN PURN 2U3A Rev. Letter 2 with or without dot.

WM(1); AP(1); NK(1).

855 *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑՈ* *; * WM(1).

¹ The letters in parenthesis are the last letters on the obverse.



3.02 (91%); 2.98, PB.

856a LEPANT PUPUM LUB [L] ** Rev. With o and sometimes dot under c.

.301; 2.90; 2.96; 3.00; 3.00; 2.56, PB; AP(3); WM(1); VM(1); IS(2).

856b *ረቴሎበՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՑ* 3.10, PB.

856c *\tanhur punum \tau\tanhur \tau\tanhur \tanhur \t*

*ԿԱՐՈ*ՂՈՒԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՅ

*857 *ረቴԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ8* - ֈ- ;- - *-2.94 (92 %); 2.64 (90 %), PB; *KK(1); AN(1).

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ---ԻՆՆ ԱՅՈ Է

*858 \(26\mathral{P}\)\(\tau\)

2.98; 2.92, *PB; AP(2).

860 **26 PANU PUPUNT 2UB**AN(1); MM(1).

*ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—Ի*ՆԱ*Ց Է*

*ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—Ի*ՆՆ Յ Ե

863 **¿ԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ** \:\ *
AP(2); PH(1); AD(2); BM(1); AA(1).

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ---ԻՆ ԱՅ Ե

*864 *ረቴሎበՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱ88* - *! ** 2.95, *PB.

*865 *ረቴሎበՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ8* -1: *- *BN(1).

ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՅ Ե

866 **¿ԵԹՈՒՐ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ** -1. ** Rev. U 2.92, PB; WM(1); BM(1); PH(1).

867 *ጳቴ Թ በ NՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՅ Ո* ֈ: * Rev. **ԹԱԳԱՄ**, **ບ** PH(1).

868 ¿ԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑՈ 1... Rev. ԹԱԳԱՄ, •
*AD(1).

869 *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑՐ* ** * Rev. U ՀԵԹՈՄ.

2.99; 3.04, PB.

870 *46 PINU PUPUM 4UB* ** Rev. U 2.87, PB; AP(1).

3.07 (94%); 2.42, PB.



ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՑ

871a *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑՈ8* Վ(* EB(1).

*872 <\$\text{PNNV PUPUNT \$\cuse \text{UBN} \rightarrow \text{Rev. } \text{and } \cdot \cdot\$.

2.96 (92 %); 2.81 (85 %); 2.49, *PB; WM(1); PH(1); MM(1).

ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՆՆ ԱՅ Է

873 **46 PAN PUPUM 418118 4:** ** Rev. U and **. 2.61, PB.

*874 **\(\rightarrangle \)** PUPUM PUPUM \(\rightarrangle \) \(\frac{1}{4} \) \) \(\frac{1} \) \(\frac{1}{4} \) \(\frac{1} \) \(\frac{1}{4} \) \(\frac{1}{

875 **\(26\) PIVI PUPUM \(2U\) 1878**3.00 (92%); 2.62 (93%); 2.88, PB; PH(1); AP(2); HK(1); MM(2); ER(1); HE(1); IS(1).

877 **ረ**ቴ*ԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑՈ8* ••• **- **- Rev. ԱԳԱՒՄ. PH(1); AN(1); MM(3).

878 **¿ԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑՈ°**AA(1); EB(1).

878a *ረቴሎበኑሆ ሎሀዓሀኑጡ ረሀፀበ* ላ፡፡ *JG(1).

879 *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑՑ*WM(1); MM(1).

880 **¿ԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑՑ**PB(1); WM(2); AA(1).

881 *26@NNI @U9UNT 2U8N* #:--*
BN(1).



882 26 PANT PUPUNT 2UBA # Rev. U, dot under 2 of 2UBA.
2.87 (91%), PB.

883 26671617 101617 201817 201

884 26 PANT PUPUNT 2UBA ** Rev. Dot under both 2's.

MM(I).

885 **\(\rangle \rangl**

887 \$\frac{26\rho\llow{1}\rho\llow{1}\rho\llow{1}\rho\llow{1}\rho\llow{1}\rho\llow{1}\rho\llow{2}\rho\llow{1}\rho\llow{1}\rho\llow{2}\rho\llow{1}\rho\

888 **¿ԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ**WM(1); VM(1); MM(1).

ԿԱՐՂՈՒԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՑ Է

889 *ረቴԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՅՈ8* - - *- *-

MM(1).



ԿԱՐՂՈՒԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՅ

891 **26 PANN PURUNT 2UBA8** +. * Obv. Some with dot over 4.
2.92, PB; AP(1); AD(1); WM(1).

*892 **\\$6\PINUT \PUIUNT \\$UBI** \\ PH(1); *WM(2).

Cross with dot—lion holding cross

4ሀ Γ በጊበኦ Φ —ኮՒኒኒ ሀ $oldsymbol{\mathcal{G}}$ $oldsymbol{\mathcal{G}}$ [or $oldsymbol{\mathcal{G}}$]

WM(3); AP(2); HK(1); AA(2); PH(1); AN(1).

896 $\angle b$ $\wedge NV$ $\wedge VV$ $\wedge VV$

897 26611-11 643-441-11 24318 + Rev. Dots over and under first ζ .

AP(3).

899 26671 64941 24878 Rev. Sometimes lion with double cross.

KK(1); WM(2); AN(1); AA(1).

900 Lion cross sometimes with bar.

2.90, PB; KK(1); WM(2); AD(1); HK(1); MM(1).

901 **36 PANU PUNU 2UBA8 4:** Rev. Dot under first **3**. 2.76, PB; AP(2); PH(2).

903 LEPANT PURUNT LUBAR +** Rev. Cross does not extend under lion.

Shape of 4 like K.

WM(1); AP(1).

905 **26001 04944 07 24808** 4: Rev. Dot in field. 3.05, AN.

906 26 PANT PURNAT 2UBA8 +(n -- Rev. Double cross and dot in field.

2.48 (87 %), PB; MM(1).

907 26 PANT PUSUNT 2USAS + Rev. Double cross and dot in field.

VM(I).

*908 26 PANT PUNINT 2U38 [b] +i, Rev. Sometimes double cross.

2.83, *PB; WM(1).

909 **LEPTING PURILATI LU38 +----** Rev. Dot under second **2**.

PB(1); HK(1).

910 26 PANU PUNUN 2U3A Rev. Dot under second 2. Obv. 4 like h.

2.50, PB.



- 913 26 PANN PUPUM 2UBP + Rev. Field mark ...
 2.95; 3.08 (92%); 3.15, PB; AP(5); PH(1); WM(3); AD(1).
- 914 26 PANN PUPUN 2UBP + Rev. Field mark ...

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՅ

- 917 $\angle b$ $\wedge h$ $\wedge h$
- 919 26 PAN PUSUN 2UBA' + Rev. Dot in field. WM(1).
- 920 26 PAN PURIL PURIL + (: s Rev. \land and dots under both 2's.

3.07; 2.88, AN; KK(1); BM(1); AD(1); HK(1); WM(1); MM(1)

921 26 PAN PUPUN 2U. +(: ** Rev. \(\) and dots under both 2's.

ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՅ

2.99 (88%), PB; BM(1); HK(1).

922 LEPANT PUPULAT LUBINS +: Rev. With or without dot under 4.

PH(2); HK(1); AD(1); WM(3); BN(1); ER(2).

16*

922a 266ANG 649UNG 248A8 + Rev. 4 like K, with or without dot under one or both 2's.

2.72; 2.85 (92%); 2.88; 2.90, PB; 2.72; 2.86; 2.86, AN; PH(2); AD(2); KK; WM(2); VM(1); AP(3); MM(1); BN(1); HE(2); AM(1).

922b **\(\alpha\bar{\rho}\b**

*923 ¿ԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՅՈ +: Rev. Dot under first Հ in WM.

WM(I); *MM(I).

ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՆՆ ԱՅ Է

926 **\(\frac{26}{66}\) PB; \(\frac{1}{6}\) G(1).**Rev. UHUMP

2.90 (85 %), PB; \(\frac{1}{6}\)(1).

927 **\(\frac{26\rho\hu\rho\ll\rho\hu\rho\hu\rho\hu\rho\hu\rho\hu\rho\hu\rho\hu\rho\hu\rho\ha\ha\rho**

*928 **\(\frac{26\rhat{1}\rhat{1}\rhat{1}\rhat{1}\rhat{1}\rhat{1}\rhat{1}\rhat{1}\rhat{1}\rhat{2}\tag{1}\text{88}\\ 3.00, \text{PB}; \(\frac{4}{3}\text{WM(1)}; \text{MM(1)}.\)**

929 **\$\$\rightarrangerrightarran**

*931 46 PANN PUPUN 4UBA8 + Rev. Dot under 4 and after 8.

3.10; 2.85; 2.99 (90%); 2.91; 2.96; 2.88; *PB; AN(1); WM(1); HK(1); AP(1).

932 **ζԵΡΛΝΓ ΡΟΨΙΝΓ ՀԱՑՈՑ** + **Rev. ԱԳԱΝΓ.** Dot under **ζ.**

3.01; 2.99, PB; KK(1).

Lion holding cross to lion walking [Transition dies].

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—ԻՆՆ ԱՑ Ե

935 46 PAN PUPUNT 4UBAB + Rev. Dot under first or second 4. Lion holding cross.

VM(1); AA(1).

ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՆՆ ԱՑ Ե

*936 **46 PANT PUPUM 4UBA8** + Rev. Lion holding cross. 2.98, *AN; PH(1).

937 26 PAN PUPUN 2UBAB +: Rev. Lion holding cross. MM(2); WM(1).

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻՒՆ ԱՑ Ե

938 26 PAN PUPUN 2UBA Rev. Lion walking. NK(1).

*939 **2660140 6434440 243** *PH(1).

Cross with dot—lion walking1

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՅՈ Է

*940 26 PAN PUPUM 2U3 Dot and half-moon.

*WM(3).

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՑ Է

941 *ረቴሎበՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑՈ8* *(:----- PH(1).

942 26 PANT PUNINT 2UBA8 +1 - Rev. Cross does not extend under lion.

WM(1); AP(1); AD(1); AA(1).

*943 **\(\begin{align*} \text{PUNV PUNV \(\begin{align*} \text{UBN}^\circ \\ \text{2.89 (92 \\sigma\); 2.69 (93 \\sigma\); 2.89 (93 \\sigma\); 2.99 (91 \\sigma\); 2.76; 3.02, PB; PH(2); WM(2); AD(1); *BM(1); HK(2); MM(1).**

945 *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՐ* 1: ---

WM(1); AD(1); AP(1).

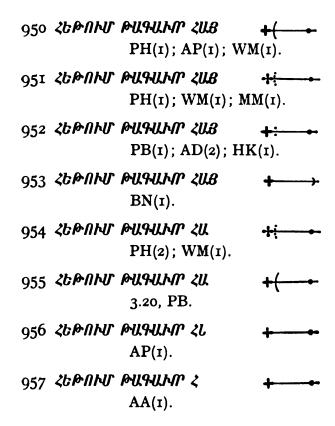
947 **₹₺₱₮₧₮ ₱₡₽₡₺₮ ₹₡₺₽** 2.90, AN; 2.65, PB; PH(1); BN(1).

948 **ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑՐ +----** Rev. **ՀԵԹՈՄ**. 2.99 (90 %), PB.

949 *26@NNI @U\$UNM 2U8* + AD(1); AA(1); PH(1).

¹ Sometimes the dot on the cross is so indistinct that it is difficult to determine whether the coin should be placed in this class.





ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՑ

*958 **\(\begin{align*} \text{PUPUMP \(\lambda \) \(\lambda \) \\ 3.08, \(\text{AN}; \(2.88; \(2.75; \(2.79, \text{*PB}; \) \(\text{WM(2)}; \(\text{AP(2)}; \(\text{PH(1)}; \) \\ \(\text{AD(1)}; \(\text{MM(1)}; \(\text{IS(2)}; \) \(\text{JG(1)}. \end{align*} \)**

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—ԻՆՆ ԱՅ Ե

959 *\(\begin{align*}
2.96, PB; AP(1); WM(3). \end{align*}*

960 **₹₺₱Ი₦₣₱₡₦₡₦₸ ₹₡₿Ი** 2.85; 2.95; 2.45, PB.

961 **26 PNV PUPUM 2U8**PB(4); WM(2); PH(1).

964 *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄԻ ՀԱ* PH(2).

965 $\angle b$ $\wedge h$ $\wedge U$ $\wedge U$

*ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻՒ*ՆՆ ԱՅ

967 ₹₺₱₦₦₩ ₱₩₦₩₩₩ ₹₩3 **№:** Rev. Dots in field. 2.90, PB; WM(1).

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻՒՆ ԱՅ Է

- 969 *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑՐ* +: ---
- *970 26 PANU PUNUM 2U3 Rev. Sometimes dots in field.

2.93 (89%); 2.91, PB; 2.87; 2.72, AN; PH(2); AP(1); *BM(1).

- 971 *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑ* +: --
- 972 **\(\frac{26\rho\hu\rho\u\r**
- 974 *₹₺₱Ი₦Մ ₱*₩₩₩ *₹*₩ WM(2).



975 <i>ላ</i> ይ ሶበՒሆ 	k +
976 ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄՐ ՀԱ WM(1).	. ·
076a 25.00NF 011911NF 2	?// @:

*ԿԱՐՈ*ՂՈՒ—*ԹԻՒ*Ն ԱՑ

*ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻ*ՆՆ ԱՅ Է

ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑ +E • PH(1).

26PNNI PUPUM 2UB +F + 2.93, AN.

ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑ 2.79, AN; PH(2).

₹₺₱Ი₦₣₱₺₦₩₩ ₹₡' •••••••••

**\(26\Pi\h\V\) \(PU\H\\Pi\) \(\frac{1}{2}\Pi\)
3.05; 2.80, PB; 2.89, AN; PH(4); WM(1); HK(1); BN(1).**

*ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱ*PB(1); PH(1); WM(1).

ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱ +: •

*996 *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ**WM(2).

ላቴሎበՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ +(---

998 26 PANT PURUM 2U Rev. Dots in field.

MM(1).

¿ԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԵPH(1); WM(1); HK(1).

ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀՆ **+ ••** WM(1).

1001 *\tag{b}\thild \thild \th*

*1002 *\(\mathcal{C} \mathcal{P} \) PUPUM \(\mathcal{V} \) \(\m*

1003 **260 NAU OUAUAN 2U**WM(1).

2.91, AN(1).

*ԿԱՐՈ*ՂՈՒ—*ԹԻ*ՆՆ ԱՅ

1005 **26 PANA PUNAN 2UBP** PH(1).

1006 **26 PNNU PUPUNU 2UBU**PH(3); WM(1); BM(1); HK(1); MM(1).

1008 266716 64346 248 2: Rev. Dots in field.
2.87 (97%), PB; KK(2); AP(3); VM(3); WM(2); AA(1); PH(2); 2.98, AN; MM(1); ER(2); IS(1).

1009 **ζυθηνύ θυθυνή ζυβ**2.64, AN; PH(1); WM(2); AD(2); VM(1); HK(1); MM(1); BN(1); ER(1); HE(1).

1010 **26PNNI PUPUMI 2UB** 2.89 (91 %), PB; KK; BM(1).

PH(1); IS(1); EB(1).



1013 *\tansactom \text{PINW PUPUM \tau \text{4!} \\ \ 2.91*, AN.

*1014 *26@NNU @USUNM 2U'**WM(1); AD(1); ER(1).

3.04, PB; PH(3); AP(1).

1016 *ζԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ*PH(2); WM(5); AD(1); BN(2); ER(1); IS(1).

1017 *ረቴሎበኑሆ ሎ*ሀዓሀኑም ረሀ PH(1).

1017a **१६०१०५ ०५९५० १५** AN(1).

1018 **₹**\$\$\text{PNW PUPUM ₹\$\text{\$\text{AN(1)}}.}

1019 **26PNW PUPUN 21 AP**(1); WH(1); MM(1).

1020 *₹₺₱ᲘᲮՄ ₱ԱԳԱՒՐ Հ* AN(1).

1022 46 PANU PUPUN 4 Rev. Sometimes PUPUNA.

2.92 (98%), PB; 2.86, PB; WM(1); HE(I).



ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻՆ ԱՑ Է

1025 **266NNU 649UNU 248N** +: Rev. 266NU 2.80, PB; PH(1); BN(1).

1027 **26 PNV PUPUNF 2UBN**AN(1).

1028a **26 PNNU PUPUNU 2UBP** +(---

1029 **१६००० १५८० २५३** 2.95; 2.93 (90%), PB; PH(3); AP(1); WM(2); AD(1); MM(1); BN(2); ER(1).

1030 **\(260 \) PUPULMP \(2UB\)**2.69; 2.96, AN; PH(2); WM(2); AA(1); AD(1); MM(1); BN(1).

1032 **₹₺₱Იトሆ ₱以予以トイア ₹Uℬ**KK(1); WM(3); VM(1); HK(1); AA(1); MM(1); IS(1).

1033 **\(26\Phi\hbar PU\hbar \psi U\hbar U\hbar PH(2)\); \(AP(1)\); \(WM(1)\).**

1034 **\$\$\$PNV PUPUM \$UB**2.99, AN.

*1035 **\(\alpha\hat{P}\hat{N}\hat{V}\) PUPUMP \(\alpha\ldot\)**3.05, *PB; KK(1); PH; PH(1); WM(4).



1036a *ረቴሎበՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ'*JG(1).

1038 **¿ԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱ**WM(2); PH(2); AP(1); BN(1); IS(1).

1039 **८७ १००० ०५५०० ८५** 2.79, PB.

1040 *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱ* +(. . . . PH(2); WM(1); MM(1).

1041 *২৮၉೧೬Մ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱ* BN(1); IS(1).

1042 *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱ*WM(1).

1043 *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ Հե*WM(3).

1046 *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ* 2.94, AN.

1047 *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ*MM(1).

ԿԱՐՈՂՈ'—ԹԻՆ ԱՑ

1049 *\tag{b}\theta\thet*

ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՑ Է

1050 **26 PNN PUPUMP 2UBN8 S**KK(1); HK(1); AN(1); WM(3); PH(1).

1055 **\(26PN\V\) PUPU\V\\) \(2UB\N\)
HK(1); IS(1).**

1056 *260 NHI PUPUMP 2UBP* +: PH(1); AD(1); BN(1).

1058 **¿ԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՑՐ** + • • 2.85; 2.93, AN; WM(1).

1059 LEPANU PURUNT LUBP + Rev. LEPANU ER(1).

1060 **26 PN PUPULM 2U8 PH**(3); WM(2); HK(1); BN(1).

2.86, AN; PM(1); KK(1); BM(1).

1062 **\(\frac{26\rh\ll V}{\rh\ll V}\rh\ll \(\rh\ll V\rh\ll V\r**

*1063 **\(\alpha\) PUPUMP \(\alpha\)**3.05; 2.57 (94 %), PB; PH(2); AP(1); WM(4); *VM(1); IS(1).

\frac{26\rh\Vi\rh

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ' BN(1).

\(\frac{26\rho\hbrack \rho\hbrack \r

ረቴԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱ +! PH(1).

26PNW PUPUM 21 + 2.81(90%), PB; PH(3).

ላቴሎበՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ Հե PH(1).

*ጳቴሎՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ Հե*WM(1).

₹₺₱ᲘᲮՄ ₱₡ዓ₡₺ጥ ₹'MM(1).

\(26\Pi\hb\U\) PU\Hb\P\(\zeta\)3.06 (94\%); 3.02, PB; WM(1); AP(1); IS(1).

*\text{tbpnhu pusuhm } \text{4} \\
3.04 (94%), PB; AA(2); WM(1); BM(1); VM(1).*

\\$b\rangle nhU \rangle U\rangle U\rangle \rangle \}WM(1); AA(1).

1078 26 PANU PUPUM 2 WM(1).



ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՆՆ ԱՑ Է

1079 **26 PANU PUPUN 2UBA8** WM(3); ER(1).

1081 **260 NHV 0494HM 2UB + WM**(1).

1083 **26 PANU PUPUNT 2UB** +: --

1084 2667NV 649UM 2U8 Obv. Half moon and dot.

WM(1).

1085 *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ1* WM(1).

ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՒՆ ԱՅ Է

1086 *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ* 2.80, AN.

1087 *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄՐ ՀԱ*WM(1).

ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՆՆ ԱՅՈ Է

1088 **26 PNNU PUNUM 2UB** 2.95, PB; ER(2).

1089 *ረቴሎበՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ Հ* MM(1).

ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՆՆ ԱՅՈ

1090 **26 PNNU PUNUNM 2UB**AD(1); IS(1).

1091 **260 NHV 6494HM 24'**AD(1); AN(1).

1092 *₹₺₱Ი₦ሆ ₱₡٩₡₦ ₹₡* 3.00, PB.

1093 *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ Հ*MM(1).

1094 **₹₺₱Ი₦₮ ₱₩9₩₦₩0** 2.75, PB.

ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—*ԹԻՆ ԱՑ Է*

*1095 **<**\$\text{\$\text{P} \text{\$\exitit{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\exitit{\$\tex{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\

1098 **\\$b\PINV \PU\UNT \\$**WM(1).

ԿԱՐՈՂ՝—ԹԻՆ ԱՑ

1100 **\(26\Pi\)\(\mathbb{U}\) \(PU\)\(\mathbb{U}\)\(\mathb**

2.78, AN.

ԿԱՐՈՂՈԿ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՅ Է

1102 *ረቴԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑ* +: --



ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԻՆՆ ԱՑ Է

*1103 **\(\alpha\hat{P}\hat{N}\hat{V}\hat{P}\hat{U}\hat{N}\hat{V}\alpha\hat{V}\hat{V}\hat{V}\hat{N}\hat{V}\hat{N}\hat{V}\hat{N}\hat{V}\hat{N}\hat{V}\hat{N}\hat{V}\hat{N}\hat{N}\hat{V}\hat{N}\h**

3.02 (92 %); 2.84, PB; WM(4).

Cross without dot—lion walking

*ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—ԻՒ*ՆՆ *ԱՑ Է*

1106 *ረቴሎበՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ*MM(1).

1107 **₹₺₱Ი₦₮ ₱₡₦₡₦₮ ₹₡₿Ი ₩**:----

2.90 (90%), PB; WM(1).

BN(1).

2.67, PB; KK(1); 2.85, AN; PH(4); AP(2); VM(2);

HK(I); BN(I); IS(2); JG(I).

2.81 (94%); 2.79 (91%), PB; PH(9); AP(2); WM(6); VM(2); HK(1); AD(2); AN(1); BN(2); HE(1).

2.67, PB; PM(1); VM(1).

17*



ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՅ

1114 *ረቴሎበՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑՐ* PH(1).

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—ԻՆՆ ԱՅ Է

1115 *ረቴሎበՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՅՐ* +(----

ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՅ Է

1118 *ረቴሎበՒሆ ሎԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՅՈ8* PH(1).

2.93; 2.86, AN; ER(1).

1120 *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՑՈ8* +:_____ WM(1).

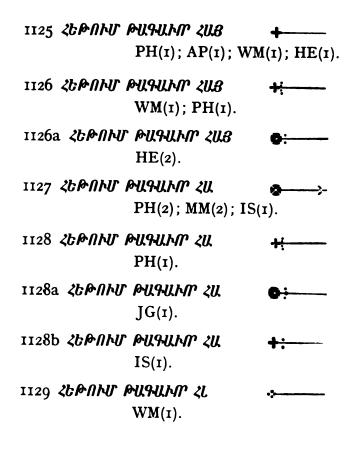
2.86 (91 %); 2.90, PB; PH(1).

IS(1).

2.80, PB; 2.89, AN; PH(2); WM(2); ER(1).

1124 *ረቴԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑ* +! -----





*ԿԱՐՈ*ՂՈԹ—ԻՒՆ ԱՑ Է

ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՆՆ ԱՑՈ Է

1131 *ረቴሎበՒՄ ሎԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑՐ* AD(1).

3.05, PB; PH(2); MM(1).

1133 *ላቴሎበՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱ* 2.75, PB.

1134 *260NW PUPUM 2U* 2.83, AN; WM(1).

1135 **१५०११५८ ०५५५५० १८** 3.03 (90%), PB; 2.39, AN.

ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՆՆ ԱՑՈ

1138 **26 PANU PUNUN 2USP**AP(1); AN(1).

ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՆՆ ԱՑ Է

1139 26 PANT PUPUM 2U8 Rev. With or without dots, in field or under 2.

2.95; 2.92 (92%); 2.88 (92%), PB; KK(1); PH(1); AP(3); WM(1); AD(1); AN(1).

1141 **₹ԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ₹Ա**3.15, PB.

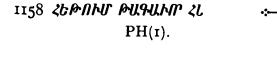
1142 **\$\$\$P\$NV \$PUPUNT \$L**PH(1); WM(1).

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻՒՆՆ ԱՅ

1143 26 PANN PUPUNT 2UBP PH(1).

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻՒՆ ԱՅ Է

1145 <i>ረԵԹՈ</i>	PH(2); AD(1).	+	
1146 <i>ረԵԹՈ</i>	\ሆ <i>የ</i>ሀዓሀ\ም ረሀ <mark>୫</mark> AD(1).	6	
*1147 <i>261</i> 001	ህ የህዓህነብ ረሀፀ		Rev. Sometimes dots in field.
	PH(2); *WM(1).		
1148 <i>261011</i>	ER(1).	+	
1149 <i>26PN</i>	ህ <i>ዮ</i>ሀዓህ<i>ኑሆ ረሀ</i> 2.98, AN; 2.93 (8	+: 6%), PB; PH	(2); AD(1); BN(1).
1150 <i>ረԵԹՈ</i>	V <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱ</i> PH(6).	+	
1151 <i>ረԵԹՈՒ</i>	<i>የሆ PUPUM</i> ረሀ PH(2); HK(1).	&	
1152 <i>ረԵԹՈՒ</i>	ህ <i>የ</i>ሀዓሀ ነም ረሀ PH(1).	o:	
1153 <i>ረቴԹበト</i>	<i>ህ </i>	+	
1154 <i>ረԵԹՈՒ</i>	<i>ሆ </i>	+:	
<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻՒՆ ԱՅ</i>			
1155 <i>ረԵԹՈՒ</i>	<i>ሆ ԹԱԳԱՒՄՐ ՀԱՅ</i> PH(3); WM(1).	·	



WM(1).

PH(2); AP(1); BN(1).

1156 *26PNN PUPUM 2UB*

1157 LEPANT PUPUM LU



ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻՆՆ ԱՑ Է

1161 *\tag{b}\thinumeta\th*

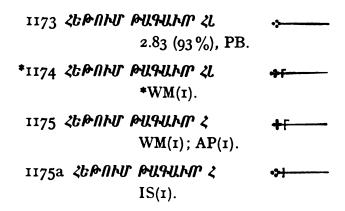
1163 **\(\begin{align*} \delta \righta \righta**

1164 *ረቴሎበՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑՐ* BN(2).

1167 *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ* PH(1).

1169 *ረቴԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ* PH(2).

1170 **\(26\Ph\) PU\\\Ph** \(2\); \(\text{PM}(1)\); \(\text{IS}(1)\).



ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻՆՆ ԱՑ

1177 26 PAN PUPUM 2USP E: Rev. Sometimes dots in field.

2.93 (92%), PB; WM(1); AP(1).

1185a *\(\text{LF} \rightarrow \text{PUPUMP \(\text{U} \)} \) IS(1).*

2.90, AN; AD(1).

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻՆ ԱՅ Է

*1188 **¿ԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԿԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՐ** *(PH(1); WM(1); *VM(1).

1189 **₹₺₱ᲘՒՄ ₱₡₽₡ՒՐ ₹₡₿Ր** PH(1); AP(1); WM(1).

1190 **266/14// 649/44// 243/ -----** PH(1).

AN(1); BN(2); IS(2).

2.90; 2.92 (88%); PB; PH(3); 2.86; 2.92; 3.04, AN; AP(1); AD(1); HK(1).

1195 **\(26\Phi\) \(PU\) \(\psi\) \(PU\), \(PB\); \(PM\); \(YM\)(\(\pi\)); \(HK\)(\(\pi\)); \(MM\)(\(\pi\)); \(MM\)(\pi\)); \(MM\)(\pi\)(\pi\)); \(MM\)(\pi\)); \(MM\)(\pi\)); \(M**

1196 **\(\begin{align*} \delta \begin{align*} \delta \delt**

1197 *\(\text{thenhu huhuhm } \text{2UB} \)
AP(1).*



1198 ረԵԹՈՒՄ	PUPUM ZUB 2.88, AN; AN(1).	+
1199 <i>ረቴԹՈՒ</i> Մ	<i>ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i> 2.57 AN.	‡!
1200 <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ</i>	<i>P</i>ሀዓሀኑ ም ረሀ י 2.65 (92 %), PB.	•
1201 <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ</i>	<i>ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՐ</i> AP(1).	+(
1202 <i>ረቲዮበՒሆ</i>		Rev. First one 2000. PB; PH(4); AP(2); WM(2); AN(1);
1203 <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ</i>	<i>PUዓሁጡ ረሀ</i> PH(3); WM(1); AI	+(D(1); BN(1); IS(1).
1204 <i>ረԵԹበՒՄ</i>	ΡԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ PK(1); AP (1); AA	+:
1205 <i>ረԵԹበՒՄ</i>	<i>P</i> ሀዓሀኑ <i>ጡ ረሀ</i> PH(2).	+
1206 <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ</i>	<i>ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ</i> ER(1).	+(
1207 <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ</i>	<i>ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ</i> PH(1).	0:
1208 <i>ረቴሎበՒՄ</i>	<i>ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ</i> MM(1).	+1
1209 <i>ረቴሎበՒ</i> ሆ	PUPULM 2L 2.93 (94%), PB.	+
1210 <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ</i>	<i>ԹԱԳԱՒՄՐ ՀԼ</i> PH(1); AD(1); BN	(1).
12 11 <i>ረ</i>Ե <i>ዮበኑ</i> ሆ	<i>ԹԱԳԱՒՄՐ ՀՆ</i> AP(1); VM(1).	+(
1212 <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ</i>	<i>ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԼ</i> BN(1).	⊗ :

1213 ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ

+(----

PH(1); WM(2); AA(1).

1214 ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ Հ

|----

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԻՆՆ ԱՅ Է

1215 ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՐ

o:----

IS(1).

1216 ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑ

⊗:----

ER(2); IS(1).

PH(1); VM(1).

Star under lion-with cross

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՅ Է

1217 ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ

>---

2.95, AN.

1218 *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ Հ*

2.90, AN.

WM(1).

1219 ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ

+---

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻՆՆ ԱՅ Է

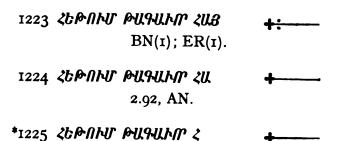
ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻՆՆ ԱՅ

1221 ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑՈ +:--

2.90 (84 %), PB; AN(1); AD(1).

1222 **\(\frac{1}{2}\text{P}\text{NV}\text{PUPUM}\text{VBN}\\ \text{AD(1)}.\)**





2.87, *AN.

*ԿԱՐՈ*ՂՈՒ—*ԹԻ*Ն ԱՑ Է

2.93 (82%), PB.

ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—ԹԻՆ ԱՅ Է

ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—ԹԻՆ ԱՑ

1235 *ረቴԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ* BN(1).

1236 *ረቴԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ* (?) 2.80, PB.

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻՆ ԱՑ

1237 *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ* 2.84, AN.

1238 *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱ*2.84; 2.90, AN.

1239 **\(\beta \be**

Rev. Undeciphered PB(1).

ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—ՒԹԻՆ ԱՅ

*1241 *\chapper pupulm \chapper \chapper \text{*WM(1)}.*

1242 *ረԵԹ ԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ* WM(1).

Star under lion—no cross

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ/—ԹԻՆ ԱՅ Է

*1243 *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ* WM(2); *AA(1).



ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—ԹԻՆ ԱՑ Է

1244 **\(26\Phi\) PUPUMP \(2\)**2.73, AN; BN(1).

1245 *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ*WM(1); BN(1).

*ԿԱՐՈ*ՂՈՒ—*ԹԻ*Ն ԱՑ

1246 **ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ** 2.82, AN; WM(1).

1248 *ረቴሎበՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ* 3.01, AN.

ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—*ԹԻՆ ԱՑ*

1249 *ረቴሎበՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ* 2.82, AN.

*I250 *ረቴሎበՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ* 2.79*, AN; HE(I).

1251 **2660hu buguhn** 3.01, AN.

ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—ՒԹԻՆ ԱՑ Է

ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—ՒԹԻՆ ԱՅ

1253 *ላቴሎበՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՑ*(?) +-----



1254 *ረቴሎበՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ* 2.94, AN. +---

No star and no cross

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻՆ ԱՑ Է

1255 *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ!* ER(1); HE(1).

1257 *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ* AN(1); ER(1).

1258 **ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈ**2.86, AN; ER(1).

*1259 *\\$6\\Phi\U\Phi\U\Phi\U\Phi\U*

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻՆ ԱՅ

1260 \(260 \) \(260 \) \(260 \) \(260 \) \(260 \) \(260 \) \(2.75), \(AN).\)

1261 26 PAN PUPULANT 2L + Rev. 26 PAN. 2.82, AN; WM(1).

1262 **\(\begin{align*} \rho \lambda \lambda \left* \rho \lambda \left* \right* \right**

1263 *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ* + ---- *Rev. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ* or *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ*

2.81; 2.87; 2.62, AN; ER(1).

1264 *26PNNU PUPUIUINI* +(---

1265 **\(\rac{260}{1265} \) \(\rac{1}{1265} **



1266 *ረቴԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ* NK(1).

+:--

*1267 *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈ*

|----

2.86; 2.81, *AN. 1268 *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈ*

2.79; 2.99; 2.99, AN; AA(1); ER(1); IS(1).

*ԿԱՐՈ*ՂՈ—*ԹԻՆ ԱՅ Է*

1269 *ረቴሎበՒሆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈ* 2.66, AN. +----

ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—*ԹԻՆ ԱՑ*

1270 *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄԻ ՀԱ*

+---

2.68 (93%); 2.54; 2.75; PB.

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԻԹՒՆ ԱՅ

1271 *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ* AN(1).

+(---

ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—ՒԹԻՆ ԱՅ

1272 ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԼ

+----

*1273 ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈ

+----

2.88 (90%), PB; WM(1); *AA(1).

2.85 (86%), PB.

HALF TRAMS

Cross with star—lion holding cross

ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՅ

· *

1.46 (93%), PB; WM(3); *NK(1).

ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՆ ԱՅ Է

1275 *\tag{b}\that{n}\theta \theta \text{VM(3); MM(1); JG(1).}*

*1276 *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՑ* -1 * *AD(1).

ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՅ

1277 **\(\text{\$P \text{\$\exititt{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\exititit{\$\text{\$\text{\$\texitit{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\e**

Cross with dot—lion holding cross.

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՅ Ե

1280 *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱ*NK(1); AD(1).

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—ԻՆՆ ԱՅ Է (?)

ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՒՆ ԱՅ Է

1282 *\tag{b}\thill \theta \thild \th*



*ԿԱՐՈ*ՂՈԹ—ԻՆ ԱՑ Է

Cross with dot—lion walking

ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՑ Է

ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—ԹԻՆՆ ԱՑ Է

1285 **\(\begin{align*} \delta \begin{align***

ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—*ԹԻՆ ԱՑ*

*1286 **ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ**1.40 (87 %), PB; *WM(1); AA(1); BN(1)(?).

ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—|ԹԻՆ ԱՑ

*1287 *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ**WM(1).

Cross without dot—lion walking

*ԿԱՐՈ*ՂՈ—*ԹԻՆ ԱՅ*

*1288 *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐԻ ՀԱՑ* 1.50, *PB; WM(1).



18*

1290 *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ* MM(I).

1291 *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ*Ր BN(1).

- (3)

No cross-no star

ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—IԹԻՆ ԱՅ

*1292 *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ*Ր *WM(1).

ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—ԹԻՆ ԱՅ

1293 *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ*Ր ER(1).

COPPER COINS - TANKS^{1, 2}.

King seated on throne adorned with lions

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

1294 **& PULL P PULUPE P UPU** * *** AD(1).



¹ The circle surrounding the king is usually a solid line, and on rare occasions, dotted. On the reverse, all specimens examined had a solid circle. ² It is interesting to note the gradual simplification of the throne design. At first the throne was adorned with lions, reminiscent of the silver coins of Levon I. This was followed by a simpler throne with conventionalized lions, which themselves underwent a progressive simplification. Then came a simple throne, bench-like, with two posts on each side, and finally, a simple bench-like throne with one leg on each side. This progressive evolution may be represented as follows:



















8.3; 7.9, PB; AN(1); KK(2); WM(5); VM(2); HK(3); AD(3); *BM(1); KB(1); MM(2); BN(1); AM(1); HE(1);

1296 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ



Obv. Solid or dotted circle.

7.1; 6.7; 6.1; 7.5; 7.9; 5.2; 7.4; 8.3; 5.6; 7.3, PB; PB(1); KK(1); AN(1); WM(19); VM(7); HK(5); AD(6); AA(3); BM(1); MM(4); BN(8); JG(3); IS(1); HE(1); EB(3).

*I297 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍՍ*

*AA(1); HK(1)



1298 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ



KK(1); WM(2); AD(1).

1299 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս*

WM(I).



*i300 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ*



6.7, *PB; AA(1); WM(1).

1301 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ* AD(1).



ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ։

1302 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

8.6, PB; HK(2).



AA(1).



King seated on throne decorated with conventionalized lions ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

*I304 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ*



8.7; 8.2, PB; WM(12); VM(3); BM(2); HK(2); AD(2); MM(1); BN(6); IS(1).



Obv. No star in field.

1306 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍՍ



7.8, PB; PB(1); WM(5); AD(3); AA(1); MM(3); BN(7); HE(1).

*1307 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍՍԱ



7.3; 7.5, *PB; WM(2); BM(1).

1308 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ Ի

WM(3); HK(1); AD(1); MM(1); BN(1).

1309 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ Ի ՍԻՍ Ի



6.o, PB; WM(2); BM(1).



Rev. Note misspelling **9499449**.

*KK(i); WM(i); AD(i).

1311 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ Ի ՍԻՍԻՍ* HK(1).



1312 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ዓԱጊԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ** WM(1).



1313 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ 🛠



Rev. Note star at end of legend.

WM(1); AD(1).

*1314 ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ Ի ՍԻՍԻՍ



Rev. Trull.

PB(1); WM(2); VM(1); *MM(1); JG(1).

1315 *ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ Ի ՍԻՍԻ* WM(1).



Rev. Thull.

1316 *ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ Ի ՍԻՍ* WM(1).



Rev. Thul.

1317 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ* WM(1).



1318 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս* WM(1).



1319 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ





1320 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍԻ

WM(1); AD(1).





*WM(4); AD(1); MM(1); BN(1).

1322 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍՍ*



6.1, PB; WM(1); VM(1); AA(1); AD(1); BN(1).

VM(1); MM(1).



1324 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ



Obv. No star in field.

AD(3); WM(2); VM(1).

1325 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍՍ*



Obv. No star in field.

8.9, PB; WM(1); VM(1); HK(1); HE(1).

1326 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ ՍԱՍ

PB(1).



1327 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ



PB(1); WM(3); MM(3); BN(1)

*1328 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ*



Obv. No star in field.

*KK(1); VM(2); WM(1); JG(1); EB(2).



*1329 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

WM(4); *BM(1).



1330 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ



PB(1); AD(2); MM(1).

1331 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍՍ* MM(1).



Obv. No star in field.

1332 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ



7.0; 5.8; 5.6; PB; WM(7); AD(5); HK(1); BN(3).

1333 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ 🛠

AD(1).



Rev. Star at end of legend.

*1334 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ



8.1; 5.7, PB; KK(1); *WM(5); VM(1); MM(3); BN(2); IS(1).

1335 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ



KK(1); WM(1).

1336 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ



5.0, PB; VM(4); WM(2); MM(1); EB(1).

1337 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ



WM(4); VM(2); HK(1).

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ

1338 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ* ×



Obv. No star in field. Rev. Cross at end of legend.

WM(1).



1339 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ*



Obv. No star in field.

WM(2); BN(2).

1340 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ*



Obv. No star in field.

WM(I); BN(I).

1340a *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս*



Obv. No star in field.

HE(1).

King seated on throne having two legs on each side

ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

1341 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ*



9.7; 8.5; 7.0; 6.8; 6.2; PB; PB(2); WM(15); VM(4); BM(3); AA(2); HK(5); AD(7); MM(2); BN(2); JG(1); EB(1).

1342 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ* ×



Obv. Cross at end of legend.

AD(1); BM(1).

1343 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍՍ** AD(1).



*1344 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ*



Obv. No star in field.

KK(1); *WM(3); VM(2); HK(1); EB(1).

1345 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ*



7.7; 7.8, PB; WM(2); VM(1); NK(1); HK(1); AA(1).

1346 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ*



WM(1); BM(1); AD(1).

1347 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ



WM(I); AA(I).



1348 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

KK(1); WM(4); VM(2); BM(1); HK(2); MM(1); BN(1); HE(1).

1349 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ* BM(1).





Obv. Decorative design δ to left of king.

7.8,*PB; AN(2); WM(1); VM(2); AA(1); BM(1); AD(2).

1350a *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ* HE(1).



ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ։

1351 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ**WM(2); VM(1); AD(1).

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑ

1352 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ**WM(7); AD(1); AN(1); NK(1); MM(3); BN(2).

Rev. Star at end of legend.

BN(1).

1354 **& Figure F Survey:** WM(2); VM(2); AA(1).



King seated on throne of one post on each side

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

1356 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ



6.o, PB; WM(2); AA(1).

1357 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ 🐽



Rev. Three dots at end of legend.

WM(1); BN(1).

*1358 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ



*KK(2); WM(3); HK(1).

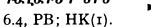
1359 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ** PB(2).



*1360 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ



8.3, PB; WM(4). 1361 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ*





ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅ:

*1362 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ



AN(1); *WM(5); VM(1); AD(2).

1363 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ* ×



Rev. Cross at end of legend.

6.0; 5.7, PB; WM(1).

1364 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ* WM(1).



KARDEZ

King on horseback

ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

*1365 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ*



Obv. Sometimes star or cross in field.

4.3, PB; *WM(2); VM(1); AD(2).





Obv. Sometimes star, dot or cross in field.

4.4, PB; WM(1); VM(1); AM(1).

WM(1); VM(1).

米

1368 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍՍ*

MM(1).

米

1368a *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս*

EB(1).

米

1369 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ*

3.7, PB.

Obv. 46PU.

1370 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի** (?) AD(1).

7

ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ։

1371 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ



Obv. Sometimes star in field.

WM(3); AD(1).

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ

*1372 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ



Obv. Sometimes star or dot in field. Legend does not always start at point of cross.

6.o, PB; WM(2); VM(1); MM(1); *NK(1).

1373 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ

HK(1); VM(1).



*1374 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ



Obv. Sometimes star or dot in field. Legend does not always start at point of cross.

3.4; 4.2; 4.4; 4.4, PB; AD(4); WM(6); MM(1); BN(3).



Rev. Two dots at end of legend.

WM(1).

1376 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ



WM(2); HK(1); BN(2); EB(1)

1377 **ՇԻ**ՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս



KB(1); MM(1); EB(1).

1378 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ* HK(1).



1379 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ** WM(1).



1380 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ* BN(1).



Obv. ՀԹԻՈՄ.

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑ

1381 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ* WM(3).



Obv. Dot in field.

1382 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ** WM(1).



Obv. Dot in field.

1383 **Tribul P Pulufi P U** WM(1); JG(1).



Obv. Dot in field.

1384 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ** KK(1); WM(2).



Obv. Dot in field.

1385 **THIBUL P PULLUPL P UU**4.3; 4.2, PB.



Obv. Dot in field.

1386 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս** WM(1); BM(1).



1387 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ



Obv. Dot in field.

2.9, PB; PB(1); VM(2).

5.1, *PB; MM(1)

1389 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

米

1390 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ(?)

4.2, PB; AD(1).

5.5, PB; WM(1).



ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ

PB(1); *MM(2).



1392 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ** PB(1).

+

King seated on bench—like throne

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

*1393 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

米

Obv. Rarely inverted U or B.

4.2; 4.5; 5.1; 3.6; 4.2; 3.8; 3.5; 4.2; 4.5, PB; PB(1); *KK(5); WM(10); VM(1); BM(1); HK(5); AD(6); MM(3); BN(10); JG(1); EB(1).

*1394 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ



4.5; 4.3; 3.2; 5.0; 3.6; 4.1; 4.0, PB; PB(2); *KK(1); WM(7); AA(1); BM(1); MM(2); BN(2); AD(4); JG(1).

1395 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ* MM(1).



*1396 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս*



4.6; 4.3; 4.4, PB; WM(3); VM(1); BM(1); HK(2); *AD(2); BN(3).



4.4, PB; WM(1); AD(1).

1398 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի*



4.1, PB(2); NK(1); WM(1); VM(1); AD(3).

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ

*1399 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Լ*



WM(1); VM(1); HK(1).

1400 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի*

WM(2); AD(2).



ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՂ ՀԱՑԿ

1401 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ* 5.0, PB.

1402 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս*



4.1; 3.9; 4.2, PB; WM(4).

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ

1403 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ* 4.95, PB.

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ

1404 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս* AD(3).

King seated on throne adorned with lions

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

VM(I); AD(I).

Rev. Tribl.

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ

1406 ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

4.6; 5.6, PB; PB(1); AA(1); MM(1); JG(1).

*WM(I); HK(I).

4.9, PB.

1409 ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍՍ

HK(1).

米

1410 *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս*

3.9, PB; WM(1).

1411 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

WM(I).

Obv. Star in field.

1412 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍՍ

MM(1).

Obv. Star in field.

ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅ

*1413 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս



PB(i); *WM(i); VM(i).

1414 ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ



WM(1); VM(1); MM(1).



3.6, PB; PB(5); WM(5); VM(1).





*WM(3); MM(1); JG(1); PB(1).

米

HK(I); PB(I).

1418 *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս* HK(2).



ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ

1419 *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ*



5.45, PB; WM(2); HK(1); AD(1); AA(2); KB(1).

1420 *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս*



3.6, PB; AD(1); BM(1).

Rev. Uncertain BM(1).

UNIQUE COPPER COIN

[Struck with a silver tram die]

*1421 Obv. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻՆ ԱՅ Rev. ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ 4.60, *PB.

ERRORS

1422 Obv. **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ**Rev. **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ**VM(1).





19



LEVON II

TRAMS

Coins with Hetoum—Zabel design

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻՆ ԱՅ Է

*1424 *ኒቴՒበኄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ8*(?) **ֈ +----***WM(1).

ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—ՒԹԻՆ ԱՑ

*1425 *ጊ*ይት*በ*ኒ *ው*ህዓህትበ*ቦ ረህ8በ* *AN(1).

1426 *ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑ* AN(1).

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ՒԹԻՆ ԱՑ

Typical Levon II design—lion turned left.

*1428 Obv. ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՑ.8ህ *

Rev. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂ...Ն ՍԻՍ ԻՓԱՌՍ Ս

*VM(1).

ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՑՆ ՀԱՅՈ

*1429 & FIGUL P FULUFE P UPU TILE 2.93 (90%) *PB; WM(1); AA(1); AD(1); MM(1).



*1430 & PULLU P PULLUPL P UPU

2.86 (86%), 2.71, *PB; 2.47, KK; WM(1); AA(1); AD(3); VM(1); MM(2); AM(1); JG(1).

1431 **TPIBUL P PUQUFT P UU**VM(1); WM(1); BN(1).

1432 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս** VM(1). \u____

1433 **Thibul it fullifit it utu i**2.92 (82%), PB; AD(1).

*1434 **Thibul h fulufi h uhu h**2.90 (82%); 2.93, *PB; 2.90 (80%), KK; VM(1); MM(1).

1435 **Tribul & Fuluri & Uhu** TI = 2.90 (83%), PB; VM(1); MM(2); BN(1).

1436 **& Pickul P Pulupi P UPUL P** AD(1); MM(1); EB(1).

1436a & Fredul & Fulure & Upu JG(1).

19*

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1436b & FIGUL F FUZUFT F UFU FU TU TU HE(1).

ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՑՆ ՀԱՑՍ

*1437 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ ԻՍԻ* *MM(1). Obv. Inscription starts to right of king.

1438 **& Fieul F Fuiufi** F Uru F MM(1).

ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՅՆ ՀԱՅԻ.

1439 THIBUL P PULLUPI P UPU VM(1).

ԼԵՈ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՅՆ ՀԱՅՈ

1440 **THIBUL I PULUFI I UNU**2.71 (78%), PB.

1441 **THICKLE P PULLUPE P UPUN** \\ \(\begin{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{MM(1).}
\end{align*}

*1442 THIBUL I PULLER I UNU Rev. Inscription starts at tail of lion.

*MM(1).

ԼԵՈ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՑՆ ՀԱՑ

1443 **& Prebul P Pulufe P UPU**HK(1).

ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՑՆ ՀԱՑ

1444 **& Pribul P Pulupi P UPU** Obv. **UPUP**

Obv. Inscription starts to right of crown.

BN(1).

1447 Thibul h fulufi h Uhu h A Obv. Inscription starts at horse's head.

MM(1).

1449 **& Pribul P Puqupi P UPU**WM(1); MM(2).

1450 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ** WM(1).



Obv. Field mark under horse.

1451 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ**



Obv. No field mark.

2.73 (77%), PB; WM(1).



Obv. Field mark under horse and two triple dots in field.

*WM(1); HK(1).

ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՅՆ ՀՍ I

*1453 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ ԻՍ



Obv. King holding double cross. Field mark and sometimes dot.

*KB; MM(1).



Obv. King holding double cross. Field mark and sometimes dot.

2.67 (65%), KK; WM(1); VM(1); AA(1); AD(2); AM(1).



Obv. King holding double cross. Field mark and sometimes dot.

VM(1); AD(2); MM(2).

1456 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ Ի* BN(1).



1457 **& FIGUR** F **FULLUFE** F **UFU** F T T T T MM(1).

1458 Thibul h full file h Uhuhu h double cross. Field mark and sometimes dot.

KB(I); BN(I).

1459 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ*



Obv. King holding double cross. Field mark and sometimes dot.

2.67, KK; WM(1); VM(1); JG(1).

ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՅՆ ՀՄ [or • U]

1461 **& PYLLUAR P. UPU PU** \$\frac{1}{2.78} (65%), PB.

1462 **THEUL P PULLUPE P UPU P**2.75, AN; 2.68 (50%), PB; VM(1); HK(1); BN(1); IS(1).

*1463 & FIGUL & FULLIFI & UNU TILE
2.80 (75%), *AN; WM(4); VM(2); BM(1); KK(1); IS(1).

1465 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ Ի* BN(1). *\tau_t

1466 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ** NK(1). *\n\t

1467 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍՍ

1468 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ Ի*(?)



Obv. Field mark dot or circle.

WM(1).

1469 **THIBUL P PULLUPL P UPU P**2.34 (54%), PB; BN(1).

1470 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ** BN(1).



ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒԱՐ ՄԵՆԱՑՆ ՀՍ

*1471 & Pickul P *ULU*1 P UPU P \(\frac{1}{2}\)
\(\text{WM(1); *VM(2).}

ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՑՆ Հ

1472 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ Ի** WM(2); VM(1). ₹n.‡

ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՅՆ •.

1473 **& Pribul P Puquer P upu Pu P**NK(1); MM(1).

1474 **& Pribul P Pulufi P UPU P** This.

1475 **& PYLOUIL P FUQUET P UPU** TO THE WM(2).

1476 **& PYLOUIL P PUQUPY PUP**MM(1).

1477 **& PYLOUL** P **PULUPY** P **UPU** P **MM**(1).

ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՅՆ

*1478 & PT & PULL P PUL



1479 **THICKL I PULUFI I UNU** WM(I).

1480 & Pribul P Puluti P UP AD(2).

1481 **& FIGURE F UPU** TILL MM(1).

ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՅ

*1482 & FIGUL F FULUFI F UFU *KB(2).

1483 THIBUL H RUQUAL H UH VM(1).

Transition—mixed dies

*1484 & FIGUL F FULLET F UFU

*WM(1); AD(1);

Rev. Uncertain 2.85, PB.

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒՈ

*1485 & PYLLUL P PULLUFY P UPU \\ \BM(I).

1486 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍՍ** 2.93 (92%), KK.



1487 **& PLEUL P PUZUPE P UU** * + 1 1 2.50 (49 %); 2.33 (48 %), PB.

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՍ*

1488 & FLEUL P FULLER P UPU * + + | ______

1489 **& Fibul P Fuquet P UU** * + 1 ... 2.91, KK; WM(3); VM(1).

Lion turned right

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒՈՑ

1491 **& Figure F UFU** 2.43 (65 %), PB; WM(2); VM(1); MM(1).

1492 **Tribul r 9417492 r Uru**AA(1).

*1493 THIBUL P PULLUFI P UPU Rev. Lion holding cross.

2.35 (50%), PB; WM(4); *VM(3); AA(1); MM(2); BN(1).

1494 **Thibul h fulufi h uhu**PB(1).

1495 THILUL P FULLURI P UPU: THE PB(1).

Rev. Crowned lion holding cross.

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒՈ*

1496 THIBUL I FULLET IN UNU
2.88 (77%), PB.

Rev. Lion holding cross.

1497 **THILLIAN PULLARI PUPU** 1.50, PB.

1497a & FLEUL F FULUFL F UFU HE(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ8

1497b & Fibul & Fulufi & Ufu \\ IS(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՍՑ

*1498 & President & Purumer & Upu

2.50 (72%); 2.54 (62%), *PB; 2.80, KK(1); WM(3); VM(3); AD(1); MM(1); IS(1).

1499 **& FYLLUL F PULLUPL F UFU** 2.55 (61 %), PB; BM(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑԱՑ

1500 **THIBUL IN PULLUAL IN UNU**AA(1).

*1501 **TFIGUL F FULLES:** F UFU * + 1501 **TFIGUL F FULLES:** F UFU * + 1501 **TFIGUL F FULLES:** PB; WM(3); VM(2); AD(1); HK(1); NK(1).

1503 & Predict Practical Property NM(2); VM(2).



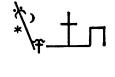
1504 **Tribul r guluge r uru**WM(2); HK(1); MM(1); IS(1).

1505 **& Freul F Guyufi F UFU** WM(1).

*1506 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ* *AD(1).



1507 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ** BM(1).



ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՍ



2.00 (72%); 2 59 (52%), PB; WM(4); AD(1); MM(1); AA(1); HE(1).

1510 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ** 2.52, AN.



1511 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ** AD(1); BM(1).



1514 **& Probal & Paraber & Upu**2.23 (50%); PB(1).

*1515 **ThibUL In AUQUAR IN WIND**2.28 (60%); PB(1); 2.68, AN; WM(4); VM(5); *AD(1); MM(1); BN(1); JG(1); IS(2).

1515a & FLEUL F FULUFL F UFU TO TO THE IS (1)

1516 **Tribul P Puquet P UPU**VM(1); KB(1); AA(1); MM(1); BN(2).

1517 **THIBUL IT PULLUATE IT UPU**PB(1); WM(2); VM(1); AD(1).

1518 **& Pribl P PUQUPT P UPU** WM(1).



1519 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ* 2.64 (54%), KK. Rev. Lion holding cross.

1521 **& FULL F PULLUPE F UFU**BN(1).

HALF TRAMS

*1522 Obv. LENT PUPULANT

Rev. THISL I PULLET UNU

AN(1); *MM(1).

*1523 Obv. LENGT PUPUNT

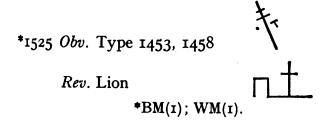
Rev. Tram lion on small flan. 1.41 (84%), *PB.

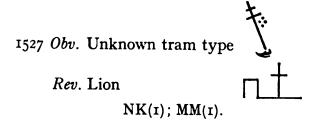
Tram dies struck on small flans

*1524 Obv. Type 1433, *1437, 1446, 1464

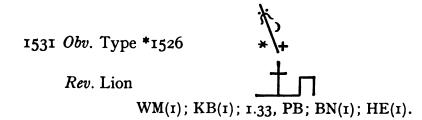
Rev. Lion

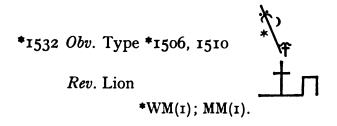
1.43 (83%), *PB; 1.45; KK; VM(1); AD(2); BN(1).

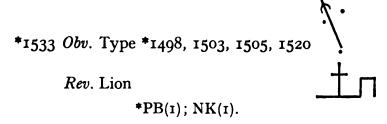


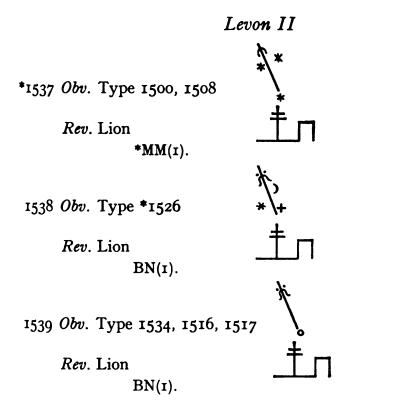


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COPPER COINS — KARDEZ

Obverse lion and reverse cross.

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑՍ

*I540 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ*¹



Obv. Lion walking left. Rev. Cross with four stars.²

307

*WM(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑԼ



Obv. Lion walking left. Rev. Cross with four stars.

AD(2).

1541a *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս*



Obv. Lion walking left. Rev. Cross with four stars.

EB(I).

² With rare exceptions, the stars are five pointed.

20°



¹ In the copper coins of this king the letter φ usually appears as ρ .

*լեՒՈ*Ն *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ8*



Obv. Lion walking left. Rev. Cross with four stars.

BM(1); BN(1).

1543 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ



Obv. Lion walking left. Rev. Cross with four stars.

AD(2); NK(1).



Obv. Lion walking left. Rev. Cross with four stars.

*VM(I); HK(I).

*ኒ*ԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ



Obv. Lion walking left. Rev. Cross with four stars.

3.5, *PB; WM(1).

ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՍՍ

1546 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ



Obv. Lion walking left. Rev. Cross with four stars.

KB(I); BN(I).

ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒՈ

1547 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ



Obv. Lion walking left. Rev. Cross with four stars.

WM(1).



ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՍ Լ



Obv. Lion walking left. Rev. Cross with four stars.

4.9, PB; *BM(1); AD(1)

Rev. Uncertain — HM(1).

ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑ (Ս

1549 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս*



Obv. Lion walking left. Rev. Cross with four stars.

WM(1).

ኒԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՍ

1550 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ*



Obv. Lion walking left. Rev. Cross with four stars.

WM(1); AN(1); AD(1); BN(1).



Obv. Lion walking left. Rev. Cross with four stars.

Rev. Uncertain.

3.6, PB; 3.9, PB; WM(1).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ*



Obv. Lion. Rev. Cross.

*AN(1).

Rev. uncertain. MM(1).



Coinage of Cilician Armenia

1553 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ (?)



Obv. Lion. Rev. Cross.

BN(1).

ጊԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՍ I



Obv. Lion.

Rev. Cross.

AD(1); WM(1); BN(1).

1555 Rev. Uncertain.



Obv. Lion.

Rev. Cross.

MM(1).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑ I*

1556 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ሀ



Obv. Lion.

Rev. Cross.

PB(i); WM(i).

1557 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ* (?)



Obv. Lion.

Rev. Cross.

AD(I); MM(I).

1558 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս



Obv. Lion.

Rev. Cross.

KB(1).



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Obverse cross and reverse lion.

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

1559 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ*

Obv. Cross.

Rev. Lion.

WM(2); KK(2).

1560 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ

Obv. Cross.

Rev. Lion.

WM(2); AD(2).

ኒԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՐ ՀԱՈ8 (?)



Obv. Cross.

Rev. Lion.

MM(I); *AA(I).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ*



Obv. Cross.

Rev. Lion.

*WM(1); AD(1).

1563 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի Ք*....



Ohv. Cross.

Rev. Lion.

MM(1).

ጊ ሁለት የተመሰመ ተመሰው የተመሰው የተመሰ

*1564 *ՀԱՏԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ*



Obv. Cross.

Rev. Lion.

*WM(5); BM(1); KB(1); HK(1); 5.6; 5.6; 6.5; 3.2, PB;

3.9; KK; AD(2); BN(1); MM(1); JG(1).



1565 *ኒ*ቴ/በኄ

#

Obv. Lion. Rev. Cross.

WM(1); AA(1).

#

Obv. Lion.

Rev. Cross.

WM(1); AA(1).

ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՈՑ

1567 ረሀՏԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ



Obv. Lion.

Rev. Cross.

BN(1); JG(1).

*ኒ*ቴበኄ *ԹԱԳԱՐ* (?) ՀԱՈՑ

1568 ՀԱՏԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ



Obv. Lion.

Rev. Cross.

PB(1).

[.....] **ዓ**ህኑበቦ ረሀ**3**..

*1569 ረԱՏԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ

Obv. Cross.

Rev. Lion with stars.

*AN(1); MM(1).

Rare types and errors.

*1570 Obv. ኒኒቴብ **Թ**ሀዓ**ሀ**ኑብ**ቦ** ረሀ*ፀሀ*



Rev. L&VII PU9... 4U...

*AD(1); JG(1).

*1571 Obv. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս



HK(1).



1571a Obv. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱ Ի

Rev. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍՅ /

EB(1)

1572 Obv. LEHNT PUPUHNP ZUBI ***

Rev. LEHNT PUPUHNP ZUBIB \[PB(1).

1572a Obv. LbNt or LbNNt PUP... Obv. Lion.

Rev. LbNt Rev. Cross.

WM(1); AA(1).

Lion turned right

*I573 Obv. [Lbhn's Pupuh]n' 2u3n8
Rev. Trib[ul r ful]ufi r ur

AD(3); WM(1).

Rev. Uncertain.

PB(1).

AD(1); BN(1).



HETOUM II

BILLONS

*1575 Obv. **ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒ** 0.71, *PB(1).



Rev. Withwar 20131



1575a *Obv. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ* PB(1).



Rev. นิเปรานอน 2นอก8



1576 Obv. **ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱ...** WM(1)...



Rev. WbW....





Rev. ԱՄԵՆԱՅՆ ՀԱՅՈ



1577a *Obv. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ* PB(1).



Rev. ԱՄԵՆԱՑՆ ՀԱՅ



1578 *Obv. ረቴሎበኑሆ ԹԱԳԱՒ*... BN(1).



Rev. ԱՄԵՆԱՑՆ ՀԱՅՈ



*1579 *Obv. ረቴԹበՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ* *WM(1).



Rev. Wybrust เนอา



1580 *Obv. ረቴԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ* MM(1).



Rev. ԱՄԵՆԱՅՆ ՀԱՅՈ



1581 *Obv. ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ* WM(1).



Rev. Wrbwist ՀԱՅ



*1582 Obv. **ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ** *NK(1).



Rev. UII ชนเฮน 2U3



Hetoum II

315

1583 *Obv. ረቴሎበՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ* AD(1).



Rev. Wibilist 2U3



1584 *Obv. ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱ* – WM(1).



Rev. ԱՄԵՆԱՑՆ ՀԱՅՈ



1585 *Obv. 46PNNT PUSU*. KB(1). Rev. WILLUST



1586 *Obv. 46PNNF PUPUNT*

Rev. WILTUST ZUSA



BN(1).

Rev. WILTUST ZUS



*1587 *Obv. ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ* *WM(1).

Rev. Wirbiller 2018กร



1588 *Obv. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ* 0.64, PB; MM(1).

0.04, PB; MM(1).

COPPER COINS - KARDEZ

[Obv. King's head]

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

*1589 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

Obv. King's head with



two curls. *Rev.* Ornate cross.

4.75, *PB; HK(1).

Obv. King's head with

two curls.

Rev. Ornate cross.



3.7, PB; WM(1).

Rev. Incomplete.

HK(2); WM(1); AN(1).



ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ։

*1591 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ*....

Obv. King's head with

two curls.

Rev. Ornate cross.

*WM(1).

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ

1592 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

Obv. King's head with

two curls.

Rev. Ornate cross.

4.9; 3.9, PB; WM(2); AD(2); HK(2); MM(1); BN(2);

JG(I).

Obv. King's head with

two curls.

Rev. Ornate cross.

3.1, *PB; AD(1).

1593 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ

Obv. King's head with

two curls.

Rev. Ornate cross.

3.7, PB; AD(1).

Rev. Incomplete.

WM(5); AD(5); AN; 5.2; 3.6, PB; IS(1).

ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑ:

1594 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

Obv. King's head with

two curls.

Rev. Ornate cross.

WM(2); AD(1).

Obv. King's head with

two curls.

Rev. Ornate cross.

*HK(1).







ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑ

*1596 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ*

Obv. King's head with

two curls.

Rev. Ornate cross.

3.5; 3.9, *PB; PB(1); WM(1); AD(1); MM(3); BN(3).

EB(1).

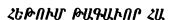
1596a *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ*

Obv. King's head with

two curls.

Rev. Ornate cross.

JG(1).



[Obv. Type No. 1593, 1595, 1596]

Obv. King's head with

two curls.

Rev. One with two dots

in field.

WM(2).

1598 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս*

Obv. King's head with

two curls.

Rev. One with two dots

in field.

WM(I).

1599 **Tribul P Pulluge P UPU P** (?) Obv. King's head with

two curls.

Rev. Very ornate cross.

MM(1).

ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

[*Obv.* Type 1601]

1600 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

Obv. King's head.

AD(1); BN(1).







ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ

*1601 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ*

Obv. King's head.

Rev. One with very

ornate cross.

WM(1); BM(1); HK(1); AD(1); *NK(1); JG(1).

*1602 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ** 3.9, *PB; PB(1). Obv. King's head.



ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ

Obv. King's head with

two pendants.

*WM(4); HK(1).

1604 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ

Rev. One with two dots

in field.

4.8, PB; JG(1).

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

1605 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍՍ

Obv. King's head with

outward curls.

AA(1).

*1606 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ*

Obv. King's head with

outward curls.



*WM(1)

Rev. Incomplete.

WM(2); BN(1).

ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ։

[*Obv.* Type 1606]

1607 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

Obv. King's head with

two curls.

AA(I).





ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑ:

[*Obv.* Type 1606]

1608 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

Obv. King's head with two curls.



Rev. Uncertain.

WM(1); BN(1).

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

Obv. King's head with two star pendants.

*WM(1).

1610 Rev. Incomplete.

WM(1); AD(1).

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ

[Obv. Type *1609]

Obv. King's head with two star pendants.

HK(1).

Rev. Incomplete.

4.25, PB; AD(1).

ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑ։

[Obv. Type *1609]

1612 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս

Obv. King's head with two star pendants.

WM(I).

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

*1613 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ*

Obv. King's head with one pendant under left ear.



*WM(3); BM(1).



ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ:

[Obv. Type *1613]

1614 Rev. Uncertain.

Obv. King's head with

dots in field.

AD(1).

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ

Obv. King's head with two dots

as pendants.

2.7, *PB.

1616 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ*

Obv. King's head with two dots

as pendants.

WM(1).

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ

[Obv. Type *1615]

1617 Rev. Incomplete

Obv. King's head with two dots

as pendants.

WM(2); KB(1).

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

[Obv. Type *1619]

Obv. King's head with

two curls.

VM(1).

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑ (?)

*1619 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

Obv. King's head with

two curls.





[Obverse—king seated]

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ

[*Obv.* Type *1622]

1620 ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ Ի Ս

Obv. King seated holding staff

in right hand and cross in left

hand.

WM(I).

Rev. Cross with four dots.

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ

Rev. Cross with no dots.

*WM(2).

Rev. Illegible.

WM(4).

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ•

Rev. Cross with four dots.

*NK(1); WM(1).

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ

Rev. Cross with two dots.

*AN(1).

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ

[*Obv.* Type *1622]

Rev. Cross with four dots.



3.7; 3.8, PB; AN(1); WM(2); EB(1).

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒ

[*Obv.* Type 1621]

1625 ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ Ի

Rev. Cross with no dots.

BM(1).

21

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱ

[Obv. Type *1621]

1626 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՍԻՍ

Rev. Cross with four dots.

VM(1); AD(1); HK(1).

ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱ

1627 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՍԻՍ ԳԱ

Rev. Cross with four dots.

BM(1); AD(1); MM(1).

WM(1); HK(1); BN(1).

WM(1); AD(1); HK(1).

1628 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՍԻՍ Գ*ե

Rev. Cross with four dots.



1629 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՍԻՍ Գ*

Rev. Cross with four dots.



1630 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱՂԳ*

Rev. Cross with four dots.



MM(1).

*1631 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՍԻՍ*

Rev. Cross with four dots.



3.7; 3.2, *PB; WM(5); BN(3).

Rev. Uncertain.

2.6; 3.8, PB.

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳ I

[Obv. Type *1631]

1632 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՍԻՍ Ի

Rev. Cross with four dots.



2.6; 2.0, PB

Not legible.

WM(1).

1632a *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՍԻՍ*

Rev. Cross with four dots.



JG(1).



1633 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՍԻՍ*

Rev. Cross with four dots.

3.8; 3.6, PB; WM(2).

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ

*1634 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ*

Rev. Cross with four dots.



2.0; 2.7, PB; *WM(2).

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒ

[*Obv.* type 1634]

1635 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ*

Rev. Cross with four dots.



2.6, PB; WM(5); KK(1).

LEPHNU PUNU

*1636 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ*

Rev. Cross with four dots.



*KK; AA(1).

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳՐ

1637 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի**

Rev. Cross with four dots.



KK(1); BN(1).

WM(1).

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳ

1638 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի**

Rev. Cross with four dots.



21 0



Coinage of Cilician Armenia

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒ

(*Obv.* Type *1640]

1639 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՍԻՍ ԳԱՂ

Rev. Cross.

WM(2).

*1640 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՍԻՍ ԳԱ*

Rev. Cross.

*BM(1); WM(1).

1641 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՍԻՍ Գ*

Rev. Four dots in field.

WM(1).

1642 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՍԻՍ

Rev. Cross.

WM(1).

ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱ

1643 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՍԻՍ ԳԱՂ WM(I).

Rev. Cross.

WM(1); *AD(1).

Rev. Some with four dots in

field.

WM(3).

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ

Rev. Cross with four dots.

*BM(1); WM(3); AD(3); HK(1).

1648 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՍԻՍ* (?)

Rev. Cross with four dots.



WM(I).



ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՎ

*1649 *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱ* '

Rev. Cross. * or *

AA(1); AD(1); *WM(1).

Not legible 2.4, PB; WM(1).

LEPHNU PUNU

2.6, PB; WM(2); HK(1); BN(1).

1650 *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱ*

Rev. Cross.

1651 ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳՐ

Rev. Cross.

BN(1).

AD(I).

ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱ

[Obv. Type *1649]

Rev. Cross.

AD(3); WM(1).

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳՆ

[Obv. Type *1649]

1653 *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳ*

Rev. Plain cross.

SMPAD

TRAMS

[King seated on throne, holding cross in right hand and fleur de lys in left, as on the coins of Levon I]

ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

1653a *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*ԾՈՑ

Rev. Unusual cross.

2.42, PB(1).

1653b *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*ԾՈ IS(1).



*1654 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*Ծ (+ ፲ * KB(1).

ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ

1657 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ*Ծ (?) MM(1).

1658 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ*MM(1).

[King seated on throne, holding cross in right hand and a mace in left, extending over left shoulder]

ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

1660 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ
AA(1); IS(1).

ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՈՑ

*1661 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ**AA(1); WM(1).



ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ

2.50, KK; AA(1); JG(1).

*1664 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ *AD(2); MM(1).

1665 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ* 2.88 (76%), PB.

1666 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ VM(1).

1667 4UPM\N\PFLUUS! (+\frac{1}{2}\)
MM(1); IS(1).

Rev. Not legible. AD($\mathfrak{1}$); JG($\mathfrak{1}$).

ሀሆፑԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ

ՍሆፑԱՏ ԹԱԳՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ

2.61, PB; WM(1); 2.55, KK.

ሀሆፑԱՏ ԹԱԳՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ

1672 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ* (+ ፲ - - - MM(1).

UUFUS PUAM ZUBI

1673 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ*Ծ (+ ፲ - - - WM(1).

*1674 4UPNINAPE UUSNA 2.80 (76%), *PB. Rev. Not legible. BM(1).

1676 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈԼ 2.47 (68%), PB.

HALF TRAM

*1677 Obv. UUF[US] [PU]9UMP 2 Rev. Uncertain. *WM(1).

COPPER COINS — KARDEZ

On the obverse the king is on horseback walking right and holding a mace in his right hand. On the reverse is a cross with four lilies or doves in flight in the four corners.

ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ



UFUS PUPULANT ZU

*WM(2); BN(1).

1681 ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ս

WM(I).

Rev. Uncertain.

AN(1).

ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ

1.80, PB; BN(1).

HE(I).

1683 ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ս

Rev. Ornate cross.

AD(1).

Rev. Uncertain.

HK(1); 2.20, PB.

Rev. Ornate cross.

ሀሆፑԱՏ ԹԱԳԱԻՐՐ ՀԱՈՑ

1684 *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ I*

MM(1).

ሀሆፑԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ

*1685 ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍՍ

Obv. Legend begins at

foot of horse.

*AD(1).

1686 **UF UP**

BN(1).

AD(1).



*1688 *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ս*

Rev. Ornate cross.

1.9, PB; WM(1); *AD(1); VM(1).

1689 **ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ** MM(1).

UU FUS PUPULM ZU

1690 ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ

Rev. Usually ornate

cross.

1.80; 2.35; 1.6, PB; WM(2); VM(1); BN(1).

1691 *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի ՍԻԼ*

VM(1); BN(1).

1692 *ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻԼ*

MM(1)

1692a *ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ*

JG(I).

1693 *ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի Ս*

VM(1); WM(1); AN(1).

Not legible. Obv. Legend begins at mace of king.

Rev. Uncertain.

HK(1).

1694 *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍՍ*

2.2, PB.

KB(1).

1696 *ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ Ս*

2 .o, PB.

1696a *ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի Մ*

JG(1).



*1697 *ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ* *NK(1).

1698 **ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ Լ** AD(1).

Rev. Uncertain. AD(1).

UU FUS PUPUM ZU

1699 Rev. Uncertain. HK(1).

UFUS PUPAL ZUBA8

1700 **ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի ՍԻՍ**2.3, PB; WM(2); AD(1).

*1701 *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ* *NK(1).

1702 **ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ** AD(1).

1703 **ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ Մ** WM(1).

ሀሆፑԱՏ ԹԱԳՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ

1704 *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ*

AD(1).

KB(I).

Rev. Uncertain. 1.6, PB.



UU FUS PUANT ZU

1706 **Tribl FULUF UFU** (?) WM(1).

ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

1.9; 2.0, PB.

Rev. Uncertain.

1.9, PB. (Obv. **UFUS**); AD(1).

1708 ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի ՍԻՍ

WM(I).

1709 ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ሀ

PB(1); WM(2); BM(1).

Rev. Uncertain.

2.4, PB; WM(3).

ሀሆፑԱՏ ԹԱԳՐ ՀԱՅՈ

1710 ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ

2.30, PB; BN(2).

1710a *ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի*

HE(I).

Rev. Uncertain.

EB(I).

UUFUS PUAM ZUB

WM(i); BN(i).



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*1713 ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ Ս
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2.0, PB; *AD(1).

Rev. Uncertain.

HE(I).

UU FUS PUAIT ZUI

1714 *ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ*

1.50, PB.

1715 *ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ Ս*

HK(1).

JG(I).

UUFUS PUAM ZU

1716 ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ/

AD(I).

1717 **ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ**

Rev. Sometimes ornate cross.

AD(4); BN(1).

1718 **ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ሀ**

WM(4); HK(1).

Rev. Uncertain.

AD(2); WM(1); 1.8, PB; IS(1).

ሀሆፑԱՏ ԹԱԳՐ ՀԼ

1719 *ՇՒՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ս*

1.9, PB; WM(1).



1720 ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ

MM(1).

1721 ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ

MM(1).

Very poor die.

UFUS PUAM 2

WM(1).

Rev. Uncertain.

WM(I).

Rarity

*1723 Obv. ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ Rev. ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ

*WM(I).

GOSDANTIN I

TRAMS

1724 Obv. ԿՈՍՏԱՆԴԻԱՆՈՄ ԹԱ**ጥ** ՀԱՑ

Obv. King on horseback

holding sword.

Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՅ Է ԹԱԳՐՐ

Rev. King standing hold-

ing sword in right hand

and cross in left.

2.8. [Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna].

WM(1). (Legend not clear).

*1725 Obv. ԿበሀՏሮՆጉԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ°

Obv. King on horseback

holding sword.

Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՅ Է ԹԱԳՈՐ

Rev. King standing holding sword in right hand

and cross in left.

2.6, *PB.



*1726 Obv. 4NUSULTHULAU PURA ZUBAB Obv. King on horseback

holding sword.

Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՑ Է ԹԱԳՈՐ

Rev. King standing holding sword in right hand and cross in left.

*3.0, WM; WM(1).

1727 Rev. 4NUSCLIFT PURM ZUBN8

Obv. King on horseback

holding sword.

Obv. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՅ Է ԹԱԳՐՐ

Rev. King standing holding sword in right hand and cross in left.

2.60, HE(1); WM(2).

1727a *Obv. ԿበՍՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԱԳՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ*

Obv. King on horseback holding sword.

Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂԹԻՆ ԱՑ Է ԹԱԳԱԻՐ

Rev. King standing holding sword in right hand

and cross in left.

WM(I).

1727b Obv. 4NUSULTHULOU PUMP LUBN Obv. King on horseback

holding sword.

Rev. $4U\Gamma\Pi\Pi\Pi\Gamma\Gamma\Gamma$ US $\xi(?)$ *ԹԱԳԱՒՐ*

Rev. King standing holding sword in right hand and cross in left.

WM(I).

1727c Obv. ԿՈՍՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

Obv. King on horseback holding sword.

Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՑ Է ԹԱԳՈՐ

Rev. King standing holding sword in right hand

and cross in left.

IS(1).

COPPER COINS - KARDEZ

ԿՈՍՏԱՆԴԻԱՆՈՆ ԹԱԳՐՐ

AD(I).



*1729 ՇԻՆԵԼ ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻՍ

Obv. Similar to reverse of silver trams.

Rev. Cross.

2.5, WM; *AD(1).

Rev. Uncertain.
PB(1); WM(1).

ԿՈՍՏԱՆԴԻԱՆՈ ԹԱԳ

*1730 THILL PULLUPE UPU & Rev. Cross.

2.72; 2.70, PB; 2.5; 1.85, *WM; AD(2).

2.1, KK; 2.45, WM; BN(1); PB(1).

1732 THILL FULLIFIE UPU LA Rev. Cross.

AD(2); BM(1); BN(1); EB(1); WM(1).

Rev. Uncertain. EB(1).

ԿበՍՏԱՆԴԻԱՆՈ ԹԱԳՈ

1733 Thibl August Uhu b Rev. Cross. 2.03, PB; MM(1).

LEVON III

TAKVORINS

ጊԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ8

*1734 THICKLE PRIZUPLUPU & Obv. Three dots • to left of king.

2.26; 2.27; 2.16, PB; VM(1); WM(1); AA(1); *AD(1).



1735 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻԱ

Obv. Three dots •• to left

of king.

WM(1).

1736 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ

Obv. Three dots •• to left

of king.

PB(2); WM(4); NK(1); AA(1); MM(2); JG(1).

1737 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ሀ/

Obv. Three dots . to left

of king.

WM(2); MM(2).

1738 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ሁ

Obv. Three dots .. to left

of king.

AD(1); HK(1).

1739 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ሀ

Obv. Three dots •• to left

of king.

WM(2); HK(1); MM(1); EB(1).

Rev. Uncertain.

Obv. Three dots • to left

of king.

BN(1).

*լեՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ*¹

*1740 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ Է

Obv. Three dots : to left

of king.

*AN(1).

1741 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ

Obv. Three dots •• to left

of king.

2.37 (50%), PB; PB(3); WM(1); VM(1); AD(1); IS(4); JG(1).

1742 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ሁሀ

Obv. Three dots : to left

of king.

PB(t); KK(t); WM(t); HK(t); KB(t); IS(t).

¹ The position of three dots is sometimes intermediate between •• and ••.



Obv. Three dots •• to left

of king.

2.35 (50%), PB; NK(1); AD(1); HK(1); BN(1); PB(1).

Obv. Three dots •• to left

of king.

PB(1); WM(2); IS(1).

Obv. Three dots . to left

of king.

MM(2); IS(1).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ*

Obv. Field mark 3.

Rev. Sometimes star under

lion.

WM(10); AA(3); HK(3); *AD(3); MM(1); BN(3); HE(1).

1747 **ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ** (?)

Obv. Field mark 8.

BN(1).

Rev. Uncertain.

IS(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

*1748 ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

Obv. Circle to left of king.

2.05, PB; WM(2); AD(2); *HK(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

*1749 ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

Obv. Dots in field.

Rev. Star under lion.

*WM(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

Obv. Field mark 3 to left

of king.

*BM(1).



ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

Rev. One with star under

lion.

WM(2).

*1752 *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ* *NK(1). Obv. Floral and three dots.

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

Obv. Letter 4 under horse.

three very small dots to

left of king.

Rev. Ornate cross.

*WM(2).

Obv. Letter 4 under horse.

WM(2).

1753b *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի ՍԻՍ*

MM(1).

1753c *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի ՍԻՍ*

Obv. Letter 4 under horse.

Obv. Letter 4 under horse.

Three small dots.

IS(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

Obv. Letter 4 to left of king.

*NK(1)

ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

Obv. LbN's and field mark P.

*WM(2).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

*1756 *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի ՍԻՍ* (?)

Obv. Field mark flower and

three dots.

*BN(i); PB(i).

22*



ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ8

[Obv. Type *1734]

1757 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

Obv. Three dots • to left

of king.

NK(1)

1758 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ሁሀ

Obv. Three dots •• to left

of king.

WM(1); IS(1).

Obv. Three dots .. to left

of king.

IS(1).

Obv. Three dots . to left

of king.

IS(1).

1759 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻ

Obv. Three dots •• to left

of king.

WM(2).

1760 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ሁ

Obv. Three dots • to left

of king.

2.41 (50%), PB; IS(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

*1761 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

Obv. Circle to left of king.

*BM(2); AD(1); BN(2).

Obv. Circle to left of king.

VM(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

*1763 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ

Obv. Small 8. No field

marks.

*WM(3); AD(1); MM(1).



1764 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍՍ** HK(1).

1765 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ Է** MM(1).

Rev. Dots under lion.

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՐ* ՀԱՅՈՑ

Obv. Three circles 6 to left

of king.

PB(1); *WM(1).

1767 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԳՆ ՍՍ

Obv. Three circles 60 to left

of king.

KK(1); VM(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

1768 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ

BN(1).

Rev. Uncertain.

BN(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՈՑ

[*Obv.* Type *1746]

1769 ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

Obv. Field mark გ.

PB(1); HK(1); AD(1); MM(1).

Obv. Field mark A and

three dots in field.

AD(I).

Obv. Field mark 8.



[Obv. Type *1753]

1772 ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ

Obv. Letter 4 under horse.

HK(1)

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՈՑ

Obv. Star under horse.

JG(I).

ጊԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՈ8

Obv. Letter 4 to left of king.

լեՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՈՑ

*1774 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻՍ Է

Obv. Cross mark + to left

of king.

Rev. Cross 7 behind lion.

*WM(1).

1774a *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻՍ*

IS(1).

1775 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻ

PB(1).

Rev. Uncertain.

JG(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ°

[*Obv.* Type *1734]

1776 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ

Obv. Three dots . to left

of king.

*ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ*Ր

[Obv. Type *1734]

1777 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ

Obv. Three dots . to left

of king.

KK(1); WM(2); JG(1).

Obv. Three dots ... to left

of king.

MM(1); IS(1).

1778 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ

Obv. Three dots ... to left

of king.

WM(2); BN(1).

1779 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս

Obv. Three dots ... to left

of king.

KK(1); VM(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈՐ

1779a *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ*

Obv. No field marks.

PB(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ

1780 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

Obv. Three dots • to left

of king.

MM(1).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՐ* ՀԱՅՈ

[*Obv.* Type *1734]

Obv. Three dots ... to left

of king.



1782 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻՍ (?)

Obv. Three dots . to left

of king.

BM(1); PB(1).

Obv. Three dots •• to left

of king.

WM(2); AN(1); MM(1).

Obv. Three dots • to left

of king.

MM(I).

1785 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ս

Obv. Three dots . to left

of king.

HK(1).

1786 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի ՍՍ

Obv. Three dots . to left

of king.

MM(1)

1787 ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի ՍԻ

Obv. Three dots • to left

of king.

WM(1).

ጊԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ

[Obv. Type *1774]

1788 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ /

Obv. Cross mark + to left

of king.

AN(1).

1789 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻ

Obv. Cross mark + to left

of king.

KK(2).

1790 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ Ս

Rev. Some single cross and

others double cross.

2.20 (56%), PB; WM(2); HK(1).

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1790a *ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ*

Obv. Cross mark ♣ to left of king.

HE(1).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑ*՝

[*Obv.* Type *1734]

1791 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻՍ

Obv. Three dots .. to left

of king.

2.57, PB; VM(1).

Obv. Three dots . to left

of king.

MM(1).

Obv. Three dots ... to left

of king.

MM(1).

Obv. Three dots .. to left

of king.

WM(1).

1795 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ս*

Obv. Three dots ... to left

of king.

WM(I).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ/*

[*Obv.* Type *1734]

1796 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ**

Obv. Three dots .. to left

of king.

BM(1); WM(1).

1796a *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ሁሀ*

Obv. No field mark.

IS(1).



[Obv. Type *1740]

1796b *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ*

Obv. Three dots : to left

of king.

PB(1).

1797 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ

Obv. Three dots •• to left

of king.

2.08, PB.

1798 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻ

Obv. Three dots : to left

of king.

WM(1); MM(1).

1799 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ሀ

Obv. Three dots . to left

of king.

WM(1); PB(1).

1800 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ

Obv. Three dots . to left

of king.

MM(1).

*ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ*Ա

[Obv. Type *1734]

1801 ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ

Obv. Three dots .* to left

of king.

WM(I).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՈ

[Obv. Type *1753]

1802 **ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ Է** HK(1). Obv. Letter 4 under horse.

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1803 *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ* MM(1).

Obv. Letter 4 under horse.

Rarities and errors

*1804 *Obv. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ8 1* Rev. ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

Rev. No cross behind lion.

1.40, *PB(1); 2.40, PB(1).

*1805 *Obv. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՈՑ* Rev. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ *AA(1); BM(1).

*1806 Obv. LEKN'L PUPULAN ZUNI8 (or ZUBNI8) Rev. ՀԱՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ *WM(2); JG(1).

COPPER COINS - KARDEZ

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ

1807 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ

Obv. King seated on throne.

Rev. Cross with dots.

2.90, PB; WM(1).

1808 *& ԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ*

Obv. King seated on throne.

Rev. Cross with dots.

KK(1); WM(2); BN(2).

*1809 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱ*'

Obv. King seated on throne.

Rev. Cross with dots.

KK(1); WM(3); *AD(1); BN(1).

Rev. Uncertain.

5.7, PB.



ጊԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ

1810 **& PULUL P PULUP** (?)

Obv. King seated on throne.

Rev. Cross with dots.

WM(1).

լԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ

1811 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԿ*

Obv. King seated on throne.

Rev. Cross with dots.

2.45, PB; HK(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈ

1812 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ Ս* (?)

Obv. King seated on throne.

Rev. Cross with dots.

BN(1).

1812a **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ** (?)

Obv. King seated on throne.

Rev. Cross with dots.

EB(1).

ጊԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ

*1813 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ*

Obv. King seated on

cushions.

Rev. Cross.

*WM(1); BN(1).

1814 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ

WM(I).

Rev. Uncertain. WM(2).



ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ

1815 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ*

Rev. Plain cross.

PB(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ

1816 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ* . . .

Obv. King seated oriental

fashion.

Rev. Cross with dots.

WM(I).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ

*1817 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ*

Obv. King seated oriental

fashion.

Rev. Cross with dots.

2.7, PB; KK(1); *WM(2).

1817a **& FUBUL F PULU**

Obv. King seated oriental

fashion.

Rev. Cross with dots.

WM(2).

1818 Rev. Uncertain.

KK(1); KB(1); VM(3); VM(2).

1819 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂ**

Obv. King seated oriental

fashion.

Rev. Cross with dots.

WM(1).

1820 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱՆ*

3.5, PB.

ԼԵՒՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ

1821 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ Ի Ս*

Rev. Plain cross.



PB(2).



*1822 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱ*

Rev. Plain cross.



KB(1).

ኒԵՒՆ ԹԱԳԱՒ (?)

1823 ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ BN(1).

ጊԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒ

Obv. King seated.

3.4, PB; *WM(1).

1824a *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ* (?)

Obv. King seated.

JG(I).

1825 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱ

Obv. King seated.

VM(1).

Rev. Uncertain.

WM(1); VM(1).

լեՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑ

1826 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ

Obv. King seated on throne holding staff with right hand and cross with left hand.

Rev. Cross.

WM(1).

1826a & PUBUL P PULUP JG(I).

Obv. King seated on throne holding staff with right hand and cross with left hand.

Rev. Cross.

*AD(1); WM(1).



*ኒ*ቴኑስኄ በዮ

1828 Uncertain

Obv. King seated on throne holding staff with right hand and cross with left hand.

Rev. Cross.

WM(1).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ

1829 **ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱ**...

Obv. King seated on throne holding staff with right hand and cross with left hand.

Rev. Cross.

WM(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈ

*1830 *ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱ*..

Obv. King seated holding staff with right hand.

Rev. Plain cross.

*WM(I).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱ /

1831 *ՇԻՆԵԼ* ... **ዓ**ሀጊ ...

Obv. King seated holding staff with right hand.

Rev. Plain cross.

WM(1); EB(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ

Obv. King seated oriental fashion, holding staff with left hand and cross with right

right.

Rev. Plain cross.

3.2, PB; WM(1).



ጊԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ

Obv. King seated oriental fashion, holding staff with left hand and cross with right.

Rev. Plain cross.

BN(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ

Obv. King seated oriental fashion, holding staff with left hand and cross with right.

Rev. Plain cross.

AD(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ

Obv. King seated oriental fashion, holding staff with left hand and cross with right.

Rev. Plain cross.

*WM(5); AD(4); BN(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ

1835a *ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ*

Obv. King seated oriental fashion, holding staff with left hand and cross with right.

Rev. Plain cross.

JG(1).



Obv. King seated oriental fashion holding staff with left hand.

Rev. Cross.

2.4; 3.5; 3.3; 2.65, PB; *WM(2); AD(4); VM(1); BN(1).

Rev. Uncertain.

WM(5); AD(1); AM(1).

1837**ዓԱኑበቦ**

Obv. King seated on throne.

PB(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒ

*1838 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍ* (?) *WM(2).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՐ* (?)

Obv. Very crude representa-

tion of king.

Rev. Cross.

AD(1); *BN(1).

OSHIN

Coronation trams

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ Է

1839a 4U/M\n\pbu\b U\r\ (+\forall = -2.89, PB(1).

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

*1840 *ԿԱՐՈ*Ղ*ՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՑՈ*

>→

Obv. Hand with extended two fingers above fleur de lys.

*WM(1).

23

Coinage of Cilician Armenia

1841 ዛԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱԾՈՅ

Obv. Hand with extended two fingers above fleur de lys.

WM(1); MM(1).

1842 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՑ Է

(←+→

Obv. Hand with extended two fingers above fleur de lys.

AN(1).

1843 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՑ Է

(4) }-

Obv. Hand with extended two fingers above fleur de lys.

2.95, KK(1).

1844 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ/

Obv. Hand with extended two fingers above fleur de lys.

KB(1).

1845 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ

(-

Obv. Hand with extended two fingers above fleur de lys.

AD(1); BN(1).

1846 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱԾՈ

(-}

Obv. Letter 8 in field on right.

KB(1).

1847 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱԾՈՅ

(?) Obv. Letter 8 in field on left.

KB(1).

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

*1848 *ԿԱՐՈ*ՂՈՒ*ԹԲ*Ն ԱԾՈՑ



Obv. Letter 8 in field on left.

*WM(1).



ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՐ

*1849 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱԾՈ
*BN(1).

TAKVORINS

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑԿ

1849a **Trubul r Augurt uru b** Obv. No mint mark. JG(1).

*1850 *ՇԻՆԱԾ Է Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ* Obv. No mint mark. *MM(2).

1851 **TFICUL F FULUFI UF**2.05, PB; AD(1).

Obv. No mint mark.

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

[Obv. Type *1850]

1852 **THUT I FULLIFIC UPU**Obv. Mint mark /8.
2.55; 2.52, (65%), PB; WM(2); BM(1); MM(1).

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

[*Obv.* Type *1863]

1853 THEUL P FULUFE UPU Obv. Mint mark */8.

PB(1); JG(1).

1854 Tribl r fulufi Uru Obv. Mint mark */3.

MM(1); IS(1).

1854a **Tribul r fuluf vu** Obv. Mint mark •/8. IS(1).



23*

With the deterioration of workmanship in the preparation of dies, it becomes impossible to decipher some of the letters. On the reverse of these coins, the word \mathcal{FUUF} or \mathcal{FUUF} is written \mathcal{FUUF} so that it is impossible to tell which spelling is used. Note that the letter \mathcal{L} is often written \mathcal{L} .

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Coinage of Cilician Armenia

1855 *ՇԻՆ... Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ*

Obv. Mint mark */3.

MM(I).

Obv. Mint mark */3.

IS(1).

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ (?) ՀԱՅՈՑ

1856 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ

2.51 (54%), PB.

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

*1857 ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ

Obv. Mint mark g/.

2.40, *PB; PB(1); IS(2).

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

1858 ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

Obv. Mint mark /v.

PB(1).

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՐ

1859 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ

Obv. Mint mark */3

VM(1); MM(2).

*1860 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ሁሀ*

Obv. Mint mark */3

*WM(1); MM(2); IS(1); HE(1).

1861 ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ

Obv. Mint mark */8

WM(3); MM(2); BN(1).

1862 ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ Ի

Obv. Mint mark */3

VM(1); JG(1).

Obv. Mint mark */3

PB(I).

Rev. Uncertain.

AN(I).



Oshin 357

*1863 **Tribl r fulufi Uru**Obv. Mint mark */8

AN(1); KK(1); WM(2); HK(1); MM(2); *BN(1); IS(1);

JG(1).

Tribul r fulufi Uru2.42, PB; BN(3).

Obv. Mint mark */8

Tribul r fuluf uru2.48, PB; AA(1); WM(1); AD(1).

Tribul r Fullif III2.49 (70%), PB; PB(1); KK(1).

TribUL P FULUF UPObv. Mint mark */8
AA(1); MM(1); IS(1).

THIBUL P FULLIFI U2.53, PB; WM(1); BN(1).

Obv. Mint mark */8

THEL P FULUFE UPUObv. Mint mark */8

MM(1).

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ

THUT I FULLIFI UIUObv. Mint mark /8.
2.52 (65%), PB; WM(2); VM(1); MM(2).

THUT I FULLET UPU I (?) Obv. Mint mark /8. VM(1).

THUT P FULLIFL UP Obv. Mint mark /3.
*WM(1).

*1873 **Truly & Pruller UPU** Obv. Mint mark /8.

*HK(1); NK(1).

TFUUT I, I FUQUE UPN(1).

Obv. Mint mark /8.

Tribul r fulufi UruObv. Mint mark /8.

MM(1).



1876 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻՍ Է* PB(2).

Obv. Mint mark /3.

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ

1877 ՇԻՆԱԾ Է Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ

Obv. Mint mark 3/1.

2.49 (65%), PB; AD(1); AK(1); MM(1); BN(1).

1878 *ՇԻՆԱԾ Է Ի* (?) *ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ*

Obv. Mint mark 3/L.

2.16, PB.

1878a *ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ՝*

Obv. Mint mark 3/L.

PB(1).

1879 **ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍՍ** MM(1). Obv. Mint mark 3/L.

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ

1880 *ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ*

Obv. Mint mark g/.

PB(1); WM(2); MM(1).

1881 *ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ* WM(1).

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ

*1882 *ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս*

Obv. Mint mark U/v.

2.61, PB; PB(2); *WM(1); MM(2).

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ

1883 *ՇԻՆԱԾ* (?) *Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ Ի* HK(1).

Obv. Mint mark ∂/U .

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ

1884 ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ

Obv. Mint mark \int_{u}^{y} .

2.55 (65 %), PB.



1885 **& FULLY F PULLUPU UFU**MM(1); IS(1).

Obv. Mint mark $/u^y$.

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ

1886 **THILL I FULLIFU UPU** AA(1).

Obv. Mint mark */3.

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՑՈ

1887 ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ

Obv. Mint mark /1/1.

VM(I)

Obv. Mint mark / 1.

WM(I).

1889 **ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս**

Obv. Mint mark / 1/1.

WM(1).

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ

1890 *ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ ՍԻ*

Obv. Mint mark 4/1.

BN(1).

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ

1891 ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ

Obv. Mint mark P/v.

AD(1).

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՅՈ

1892 ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍՍ

Obv. Mint mark \cdot/\mathcal{O} .

BN(1).

Obv. Mint mark */1/1.

*AD(1); MM(1).



Coinage of Cilician Armenia

Obv. Mint mark */ 1.

MM(I).

1894a *ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ԳԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ* PB(1). Obv. Mint mark */1/1.

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՐ

[Obv. Type *1863]

1895 ՇԻՆԱԾ Է Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ

Obv. Mint mark */3.

MM(1).

1896 *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ሁሀ*

Obv. Mint mark */3.

2.31 (65%); WM(1); VM(1).

Obv. Mint mark */3.

2.35 (58%), PB; AD(1).

1898 *ՇԻՆԱԾ Է Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ* (?)

Obv. Mint mark */3.

KK(1); WM(1).

1899 **& PULL P FULLY UPU** (?)

Obv. Mint mark */3.

2.40, PB.

1900 ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ

Obv. Mint mark */3.

MM(1).

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՐ

[*Obv.* Type *1863]

1901 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Մ*

Obv. Mint mark */3.

KK(r).

1902 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ

Obv. Mint mark */3.

PB(i); VM(i).

1903 ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ

Obv. Mint mark */3.

PB(1); BN(1).



ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՐ

1904 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ* 2.57 (65%), PB.

Obv. Mint mark θ/ℓ .

ԱՒՇԻՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՄ* ՀԱՑՐ

[Obv. Type *1860]

Obv. Mint mark /3.

NK(1); MM(1).

Obv. Mint mark /8.

MM(1).

1906a *ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ሁ*

Obv. Mint mark /8.

PB(1).

ԱՒՇԻՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ Լ*

1906b **Tribul P Pulup UP**IS(1); HE(1).

Obv. Mint mark */3.

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ

[Obv. Type *1873]

Obv. Mint mark /3.

2.49; 2.39, PB; PB(1).

1908 ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ

Obv. Mint mark /8.

2.63 (65%), PB; WM(1); AD(1); BN(1); IS(2).

1909 **ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ**

Obv. Mint mark /3.

BN(1).

Rev. Uncertain.

MM(1).



ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ

[Obv. Type *1863]

1910 **ՇԻՆԱԾ Է Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՄԻ** Obv. Mint mark •/**3.** 2.75 (58%), PB.

1911 **THUUV I, I FULLUF UHU**(NB(1); MM(2); IS(1).

1912 **ՇԻՆԱԾ Է Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ሁ**WM(1).

Obv. Mint mark */3.

1913 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ**WM(2).

Obv. Mint mark */3.

1914 **Tribul r Auguri Ur** Obv. Mint mark */3. 2.37 (52 %), PB; PB(1); MM(1); JG(1).

1914a **ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ** Obv. Mint mark */3.
IS(1).

1914b *ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ԳԱՂԱՔՆ ሁ Obv.* Mint mark */3.

1915 **& FLEUL F FULLIFE U**Obv. Mint mark */3.
2.47 (65%), PB; PB(1); WM(1); MM(1); BN(1)

*1916 **& FULL I FULLIFI UPU**Obv. Mint mark */3.

PB(1); *WM(1).

1917 **&FLEUL F FULUF UFU** Obv. Mint mark */3.
MM(1).

1918 **THISL I FULLIFIC UPU**Obv. Mint mark */3.

MM(1); IS(1).

1919 **THULL I FULLIFL UPU**Obv. Mint mark */3.

MM(1); HE(1); IS(1).

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ

[Obv. Type *1882]

1921 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս*

Obv. Mint mark U/V.

MM(1).

1922 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ሀ

Obv. Mint mark U/1.

VM(1); BN(1).

1923 ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս

Obv. Mint mark U/U.

2.63, PB; WM(1); BN(1).

Rev. Uncertain.

2.26; 2.13, PB; HK(1); BN(1).

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ

1924 **ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ሀ** (?)

Obv. Mint mark P/V.

MM(2).

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ

Obv. Mint mark 4/11.

AD(i); KB(i); MM(i); *HK(i).

1926 ՇՒՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ

Obv. Mint mark 4/y.

PB(2); WM(1); MM(1).

1927 ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ

Obv. Mint mark 4/1.

WM(2).

Rev. Uncertain.

2.53; 2.51, PB; WM(3); VM(1); AD(2); AN(1); MM(1).

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ

1928 **ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ** (?)

Obv. Field mark θ/ℓ .

AN(1).



ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ

[Obv. Type *1857]

Obv. Mint mark 8/.

AD(1).

1930 *ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ሁ*

Obv. Mint mark 3/.

AD(1).

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ

[Obv. Type *1925]

Obv. Mint mark 4/1.

AA(1); MM(1).

Obv. Mint mark 4/11.

WM(3); VM(1); AD(4); MM(1); IS(2).

Obv. Mint mark 9./1.

AD(1); MM(1).

Rev. Uncertain.

BN(1).

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ

1934 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս* PB(2). Obv. Mint mark uncertain.

Obv. Mint mark 4/.

PB(i); *AA(i); WM(i).

Unique copper coin

[Silver Takvorin Type]

*1936 Obv. ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ Rev. ՇԻ... ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ Obv. Mint mark 8/L.

2.58, *PB.



HALF TRAM

Single specimen reported (see p. 93), of the coronation tram type. Present whereabouts unknown.

COPPER COINS - POGHS1

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

1936a *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ*

Obv. King seated on bench and holding cross in right hand and fleur de lys in left hand.

HE(1).

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ

Obv. King seated on bench and holding cross in right hand and fleur de lys in left hand.

1.15, *PB; PB(2); WM(2). Rev. Cross.

Rev. Cross.

1938 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ሁ

Obv. King seated on bench and holding cross in right hand and fleur de lys in left hand. Rev. Cross.

WM(I).

Rev. Uncertain. PB(2).

1939 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ Ս*

Obv. King seated on bench and holding cross in right hand and fleur de lys in left hand.

Rev. Cross.

1.55, PB; PB(1); AD(1); MM(1).

Rev. Uncertain.

AD(i); WM(3); PB(i); JG(i).

¹ A few last minute additions are not included in the section of statistics.



ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱ... ՀI

1940 ?.... *ԱጊԱԳՆ ՍԻՍ*

Obv. King seated on bench and holding cross in right hand and fleur de lys in

left hand.

Rev. Cross.

MM(I).

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ

*****1941 *ՇԻ*ՆԱԾ *Է Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ*

Obv. King seated on bench and holding cross in right hand and fleur de lys in left hand.

Rev. Cross.

WM(4); 1.40, PB*; JG(1).

Rev. Uncertain.

AD(3); 1.25, PB(6); WM(2); JG(2).

*ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ*Ր

*1942 *ՇԻ*ՆԱԾ **Լ ՔԱՂԱՔ ሀ**

Obv. King seated on bench and holding cross in right hand and fleur de lys in left hand.

Rev. Cross.

1.25, *PB(2).

1942a *ՇԻՆԱԾ Է ՔԱՂՍՍ*

Obv. King seated on bench and holding cross in right hand and fleur de lys in left hand.

Rev. Cross.

AD(1).

Rev. Uncertain. WM(2).



ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ

[*Rev.* Type *1945]

1943 *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ս*

Obv. King seated on bench and holding cross in right hand and fleur de lys in

left hand.

WM(1).

Rev. Cross.

1943a *ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ԳԱՋԱԳՆ Ի*

Obv. King seated on bench and holding cross in right hand and fleur de lys in

left hand.

Rev. Cross.

PB(1).

ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ

1944 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի*

Obv. King seated on bench and holding cross in right hand and fleur de lys in

left hand.

AD(2).

Rev. Cross.

1944a *ՇԻՆԱԾ Է Ի ԳԱԶԱԳՆ*(?)

Obv. King seated on bench and holding cross in right hand and fleur de lys in

left hand.

Rev. Cross.

PB(2).

ԱՒՇԻՆ **Թ**ԱԳԱՒՐ Հ

Obv. King seated on bench and holding cross in right hand and fleur de lys in

left hand.

*WM(1).

Rev. Cross.

1945a **& FULLO F** AD(1); PB(1).

- *1946 Takvorins with Arabic surcharge bearing Mamluk Sultan's
- *1947 name Nāsir Nāsir al Din Muhammad.

LEVON IV1

TAKVORINS

ጊԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑՒՈՑ

*1948 **Trubul** p **Fulufi** p **Up** (?) Obv. Field mark **4**/?.
*BN(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

1948a **& Ficul F Fulufi F U** IS(1). *Obv.* Field mark +/?.

- *1949 **ThibUL h AUQUAL h UhU**Obv. Field mark 4/yr.

 PB(1); *WM(1); AD(2); MM(1); IS(1).
- 1950 **Tribul r fullsti r Ur** Obv. Field mark **4/U**. 2.45; 2.31 (57%); 2.45 (56%), PB.
- 1951 **ThibUL h FULUF UhU**2.40; 2.42, PB; WM(3); AD(4); MM(2); BN(1).
- 1952 **Tribul r fullfi Uru**Obv. Field mark **4/U**.

 PB(2); WM(1); MM(2); BN(1); IS(1).
- 1953 **THIBUL H FULLIFI UU**BN(1).

 Obv. Field mark **4/U**.

¹ It is often impossible to differentiate the ${\cal F}$ from ${\cal F}$ in the legend.



ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

*****1954 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս*

Obv. Field mark &/y.

2.60; 2.30 (60%); 2.26 (54%); 2.44, PB; WM(4); AD(2), MM(3); IS(1); JG(1).

Rev. Uncertain.

WM(5); MM(3).

Obv. Field mark 2/11.

PB(1); MM(4); BN(2).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

1956 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱ... Ի Ս*

Obv. Field mark \$/15.

2.29 (60%), PB; MM(1).

ኒԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

Obv. Field mark 3/..

2.36 (65 %), PB.

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

1958 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս

Obv. Field mark /v.

2.49; 2.30, PB.

Rev. Uncertain.

AD(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

1959 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս

Obv. Field mark 2/.

KK(1); MM(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

*1960 **Tribul h fuluf uhu** (?) [or **-fi h u**] Obv. Field mark **l/u.**AD(2); *WM(1); NK(1); MM(1); BN(1).

24

1961 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս

Obv. Field mark P/U.

WM(1); AD(2).

*1962 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս* KK(1). Obv. Field mark P/V.

լեՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ (?)

1963 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ

Obv. Field mark →/10.

WM(1); BN(1).

ጊԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ8

1964 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս*

Obv. Field mark P/.

MM(3).

*ኒ*եՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՐ* ՀԱՅՈՑ

1965 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ*Ն ..

Obv. Field mark %.

WM(1).

լեՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ

1966 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ

Obv. Field mark 4/y.

2.30 (56 %); 2.32 (65 %), PB; PB(1); NK(2); AD(1).

Obv. Field mark 4/11.

2.25; 2.45 (65%); 2.23 (56%); 2.45; 2.37; PB; KK(I); PB(3); WM(5); AD(3); MM(2); BN(I).

1968 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս

Obv. Field mark 4/1.

MM(3).

Rev. Uncertain.

PB(1).



ኒԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ

1969 Tribul h fullfit h UhU Obv. Field mark a/y.

WM(1); AD(1); MM(1); BN(1).

1970 **Tribul r fullifi r U**Obv. Field mark **2/y**.

2.60; 2.29; 2.25, PB; WM(5); AD(4); BM(1); AN(1); MM(3); BN(1); PB(1); IS(2).

1971 **& FULUL F FULUFU UFU**MM(1).

Obv. Field mark ≥/y.

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ*

*1972 **Tribul h fulufi h Uhu**Obv. Field mark **d/y**.
2.33, *PB.

1973 Thibul h fullsti h U Obv. Field mark 1/y. WM(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ

*1974 **TribUL r FULLIFI r U**Obv. Field mark P/U with U under horse.

*MM(3); BN(1).

Rev. Uncertain. MM(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ

*1975 **Tribul r fulufi r v** Obv. Field mark **l/y**.

2.35; 2.22 (56%); 2.08 (53%), PB; KK(1); *WM(1); MM(1).

Rev. Uncertain. WM(1).

24*



ጊԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ

1976 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ሀ

Obv. Field mark */v.

2.43 (54%), PB; WM(1); MM(1); PB(1); JG(1).

Obv. and rev. Uncertain. WM(1); AD(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ

1977 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ

Obv. Field mark \(\beta \)/.

WM(1).

1978 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ

Obv. Field mark \(\beta \)/.

2.42, PB.

1979 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ሀ

Obv. Field mark ₱/.

WM(1); AN(1); MM(2).

1980 **& PUCUL P PULUP UU**

Obv. Field mark ₱/.

2.34, PB.

Rev. Uncertain.

2.70; 2.26 (53%), PB; WM(2); MM(1).

1981 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս* MM(1). Obv. Mint mark 2/.

ኒ ተለን ተመንፈት የመደረ ተለን ተመንፈ

Obv. Field marks 9/.

2.41 (58%), PB.

1983 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Մ* WM(1). Obv. Field marks 4/y.



*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ **ԹԱԳԱՒ**ՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ

Obv. No field marks.

2.25 (65%), PB; WM(2);

Rev. Uncertain.

WM(2).

ኒԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ

Obv. Field mark under horse.

AD(2); WM(1); AN(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ

Obv. Field mark */.

AD(1).

Obv. Field mark */.

WM(1);

Rev. Uncertain.

WM(1).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ

1988 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս*

Obv. Field mark U/S.

WM(I).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՐ* ՀԱՑ

Obv. Field mark P/.

*WM(I).

1990 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս*

Obv. Field mark P/.

WM(I).

Rev. Uncertain.

NK(1); MM(1).



ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ

*iggi *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ* *AD(1).

Obv. Field mark %.

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ

1992 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ሀ WM(1).

Obv. No field marks.

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՐ* ՀԱՅ

Obv. Field mark U/U.

MM(1).

Rarity—lion turned left.

ጊԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

Obv. Field mark P.

Rev. Lion turned left.

AN(1).

1995 ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ

Obv. Field mark P.

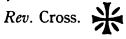
Rev. Lion turned left.

WM(i); BN(i).

COPPER COINS - POGHS1

King holding staff in right hand which extends over shoulder. Cross in left hand. Throne decorated with lions.

*1996 Uncertain.



*WM(3); MM(1).

¹ A number of last minute additions were made which were not included in the statistics section.



*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ*

*1997 ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ

Rev. Plain cross.

1.45, PB;

Rev. Uncertain.

*WM(2); PB(1).

1998 *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ*

Rev. Plain cross.



1.9, PB.

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ

1998a & PUCL P FULUF U PB(1).

Rev. Plain cross.



Large poghs - King holding staff in right hand which extends over shoulder. Cross in right hand. Peculiar throne.

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ

*1999 *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ*

Rev. Cross with or with-

out dots.

*WM(1); MM(1).

2000 ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ Ի ՍԻ

Rev. Cross with or with-

out dots.

WM(2); BN(1); AD(2);

Rev. Uncertain.

Rev. Cross with or with-

out dots.

WM(1); AD(1); MM(1); JG(1); EB(1).

2001 ሁዮኒ ሀሶ

MM(I).



ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ

Rev. Cross with one or more dots.

2.1, PB; WM(1); AD(1);

Rev. Uncertain.

WM(2); AD(1); EB(1); PB(1).

Rev. Cross with one or more dots.

PB(2); BN(1).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՐ* (?)

*2004 *ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ* (?) *WM(1).

Rev. Plain cross.



Smaller version of large poghs

ኒԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ

Rev. Cross plain or with four dots.

1.60; 1.23, *PB; PB(2).

2005a *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ*

PB(1); JG(1).

Rev. Uncertain.

1.20, PB; WM(2); JG(1).

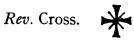
Rev. Cross plain or with

four dots.

BN(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ

JG(1).





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*WM(1).

Rev. Cross.

Rev. Uncertain.

WM(I); AD(I).

2008 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ*

MM(I).

Rev. Plain cross.

Rev. Cross with four

2008a *ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս*

dots.

PB(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ

2009 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱ ሁሀ

Rev. Various crosses.

MM(1).

Rev. Uncertain.

BN(i); PB(i).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՐ* Հ

2010 ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ

Rev. Various types of crosses.

WM(1); JG(1); PB(2).

Rev. Uncertain.

WM(5); BN(1); PB(1).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱ*ՒՈՐ Հ

Rev. Various crosses.

PB(1); JG(1).

King holding cross in right hand and staff in left extending over shoulder.

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ

JG(2).



ԼԵԻՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ

2011a **ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի** WM(1); PB(1).

King with orb in left hand and staff in right hand extending over shoulder.

Rev. Cross plain or with

dots.

WM(I).

2013 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի

Rev. Cross plain or with

dots.

1.4, PB.

*****2014 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ*

Rev. Cross plain or with

dots.

1.5; 1.45, *PB.

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ

2015 Rev. Uncertain.

Rev. Cross plain or with

dots.

1.6, PB; AD(1).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ

2016 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ

Rev. Cross plain or with

dots.

WM(1); PB(2).

King with cross in right hand and lily in left

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

2017 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ሀ** PB(2).



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Rev. Uncertain.

AD(2); PB(3).

Rev. Cross.



ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ

Rev. Various types of

crosses.

WM(1); MM(1).

Rev. Various types of

crosses.

BN(1).

Rev. Various types of

crosses.

1.55, PB; *WM(4); AD(1); BN(1); PB(6).

Rev. Uncertain.

WM(5); AD(3); HK(1); BN(1); JG(1); PB(6).

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ

Rev. Cross.



ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ

1.65, PB; WM(2); PB(2).

2022 ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ

Rev. Uncertain.

MM(1).

Rev. Uncertain.

AD(1).

*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ Հ

2023 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ* (?)

Rev. Plain cross.



1.20, PB; AD(1).



*ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՐ* (?)

2024 Rev. Uncertain.

Rev. Plain cross.

AD(I).

ኒԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ

AD(I).

Rev. Plain cross.

PB(1).

Rev. Cross.



Error—rarity

2026 Obv. **Tribul r ful....** Rev. Thib ULUF h AD(1).

TAKVORINS

- *2027 Takvorins overstruck in Arabic with Mamluk sultan's name Nāsir Nāsir. al Din Muhammad.
- *2028 Takvorins overstruck in Arabic with Mamluk sultan's name Nāsir Nāsir. al Din Muhammad.

GUY

TAKVORINS

ԿԻ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

2028a *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ*

Obv. Circle and dot in field. No field mark (EB)

IS(1); EB(1).

1.94, *PB; WM(1).

Obv. Two circles in field.

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Obv. One or two circles in field.

KK(I); PB(I); AD(I).

Obv. Dot in field.

2.34, PB; WM(1); MM(1);

Rev. Uncertain.

2.09, PB; WM(1); MM(1).

2032 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ሀ** (?)

EB(1).

2032a *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ*

Obv. One circle in field.

PB(1).

ԿԻ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

Obv. Two dots.

WM(1); MM(1); AD(1).

Obv. One or two circles

with or without dot.

Rev. With or without dot

and circle.

2.05, KK; WM(3); VM(1); *NK(1); KK(1); AD(3);

MM(I); JG(I).

Obv. Two dots.

WM(1); JG(2).

2036 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս*

Obv. Two dots.

WM(1); PB(1); IS(1).

Rev. Uncertain.

AD(2); PB(2); JG(1); HE(2); IS(1).

ԿԻ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ

Obv. Two circles in field.

1.95, *KK; EB(1).



ԿԻ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ

2038 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ

Obv. Two circles in field.

Rev. One dot.

MM(I).

Obv. One or two circles in

field.

MM(1); BN(1).

COPPER COINS - POGHS

ԿԻ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ

*2040 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ

Obv. King seated holding cross in right hand and

fleur de lys in left hand.

*WM(2).

GOSDANTIN III¹

TAKVORINS

Struck in Tarsus

*ԿበՍՏԱՆጉԻՆ ԹԱԳՐ*Ր

2041 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՆ ՏԱ*

Rev. Lion walking left.

PB(1).

ԿՈՍՏԱՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳՈ

2042 **THUL FUL.. SUP** 1.88, PB.

ԿՈՍՏԱԴԻՆ ԹԱԳՈ

*2043 ՇԻՆԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՏՐ

Obv. Letter 4 in field.

WM(2); BM(1); NK(1).

¹ Because of the poor condition of many Gosdantin III and IV coins, in some cases it was necessary to guess the correct legend.



ԿበՍՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳՈ

*2044 **& FULL** **SUP**

Rev. Circle or dot in field.

2.05, PB; *WM(2).

ԿበՍՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԱԳ

*2045 *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՏԱՐ* *MM(1).

*Կበሀ*ያርኒጉኒ (?)

2046 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՏՐ** 1.84, PB.

ԿበՍՏԴՆԻՆ ԹԱԳՈ

*2047 **ՇԻՆԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՏԱ** *BM(1); MM(1).

2047a **&FUU**(?) **FUUUFU SUPUN** PB(1).

ԿበՍՏՆጉԻՆ ԹԱ (?)

*2048 **FUZUF: SUF** *KK(1). Rev. Lion walking left.

*Կበሀ*ՏՆጉԻՆ Թበ

2049 **THUL FUL SUP** WM(1).



*Կበሀጉኒኮ*ኒ *Թ*ԱԳՈ

2050 **& FULUL F FULUF SU** WM(1).

Struck in Sis

ԿበՍՏԱՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳ ՀՒ8

*2051 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ* *MM(2). Obv. Field mark b and θ .

ԿበՍՏԱՆԴԻՆ **Թ**ԱԳ I

2052 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ

Obv. Field marks circle

and dot or 4.

2.19, PB; WM(1); BN(1).

2053 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ

Obv. Field mark b and dot.

WM(1).

Obv. Field marks circle

and dot.

*MM(2).

ԿበሀՏԱՆጉԻՆ ԹԳ ՀՅՈՑ

2055 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՐ

2.05, PB.

2056 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ

WM(1).

ԿበՍՏԱՆԴԻՆ ԹԳ Հበጸ

*2057 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ

Obv. Various field marks, three dots, circle, \mathcal{L} , b,

dots etc.

*WM(3); NK(2).

2057a *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի*

IS(1).



ԿበՍՏԱՆጉԻՆ ԹԳ ՀՒ8

Obv. Circle.

VM(1).

ԿበՍՏԱՆጉԻՆ ԹԳ I

Obv. Circle and b, dots.

Rev. Circle, b, dots etc.

***WM(1)**; BM(1); BN(2).

2060 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ

NK(1); BM(1); WM(1).

2061 *ՇԻՆԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻI*

Obv. Circle and dots.

HK(1).

ԿበՍՏԱՆԴԻՆ ԹԳ 8

2062 *ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ* WM(2).

ԿՈՍՏԱՆԴԻՆ Թ ՀԱՅՈՑ

2062a **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ**

Obv. Dots in field.

JG(I).

*Կበሀ*ያርՆጉԻՆ *ԹԱԳ Հ*

2063 Uncertain

Obv. Letter 4 and dot in

field.

AD(1).

ԿՈՍՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳԱ

Obv. Dots in field.

1.99, PB; WM(1).

25



*ԿበՍՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԱԳՐ*Ր

Obv. Circle in field.

1.75, PB; WM(1).

ԿበՍՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԱԳ

*2066 **& PULL P FULLFU UU** *VM(1).

ԿበՍՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԳԱ

2067 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ*

Obv. Letter 4 in field.

PB(1)

*ԿበՍ*ՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԳՐՐ

2068 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի

Obv. Letter 4 and or dot

in field.

WM(2); BM(1).

ԿበሀዩርՆጉԻՆ ԹԳ ՀԱՅՈՑ (?)

2069 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ** AD(1).

ԿበՍՏԸՆጉԻՆ Թ ՀՅՈ8

2069a *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ*(?)

Obv. Field mark ∴ under

horse.

EB(1).

*Կበሀ*ያርኒጉሶኒ *ԹԳ ረՅበ* (?)

2070 **& FUEL P FUIUFL U** WM(2).



Obv. Dots in field.

MM(1).

Rev. Uncertain.

PB(1).

ԿበՍՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԳ ՀԱ

2072 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱጊԱՔՆ Ի ሀ* (?)

Obv. Field mark dot.

WM(1).

Obv. Field mark 4.

2.07, PB; WM(1).

2074 **ՇԻՆԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ** (?)

WM(1); AN(1); AD(1).

ԿበՍ የርኒጉኮኒ *Թ*Գ ኮ

2075 Uncertain

Obv. Letter 4 and dot.

PB(1).

ԿበՍՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԳ Հ

*2076 **ՇԻՆԱԼ** (?) **ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ሀ**

Obv. Dots in field.

2.03, *PB; BN(1).

2077 **ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ** (?)

Obv. Dots in field.

WM(2);

Rev. Uncertain.

WM(2); AD(1).

ԿበՍՏԴՆԻՆ ԹԱԳ ՀI

Obv. Dots in field.

WM(1).

25°

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Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN 2079 **ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի ሀ** MM(1).

2080 ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս

Obv. Three dots.

WM(i); BM(i).

ԿበՍՏԸՆԴՆ ԹԳՐՐ Հ

Obv. Three dots.

WM(4).

ԿՈՍՏԸՆԴՆ ԹԱԳՈ

2082 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի

Obv. Field mark 4 and

dot.

MM(2).

ԿበՍՏՆԴՆ ԹԳ 28

*2083 ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ሀ

Obv. Three dots and 9 in

field.

*WM(3).

2084 ՇԻՆԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ

Obv. Three dots in field.

WM(2).

Rev. Uncertain.

MM(1).

ԿበՍՏጉԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ

Obv. Star and two dots in

field.

JG(1).



*Կበ*ՏርՆጉԻՆ ԹԳՈՐ

2085 *ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ* WM(1).

*Կበ*ያርኒጉኮኒ *Թ*Գበ

Obv. Field mark 4.

NK(1).

ԿՈՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳ

2087 *ՇԻՆԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ሀ*

Obv. Field mark 4.

AD(1); MM(1).

*Կበ*ՏርՆጉԻՆ *ԹԳ ՀՑ*

MM(1).

2.25, PB.

*Կበ*ՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԳ

WM(1).

2091 *ՇԻՆԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի* (?)

PB(1).

*ԿበՏՆጉԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ*Ր ՀԱ

Obv. Circle in field.

WM(2); PB(2).

Obv. Field mark ♣.

BN(1); PB (with Arabic surcharge) (1).



*Կበ*ՏՆԴ*Ի*Ն *ԹԱԳԱՒՐ* ՀՅ

2094 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ1* WM(1).

2095 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս** 2.08, PB.

*Կ*ՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀՑ (?)

2096 **Thibl AUJUAL UHU h** (?) BN(1). Obv. Three dots in field.

ԿՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԳ ՀԱՅՈՑ

2097 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՐ

WM(1); MM(1).

2098 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ** WM(1).

ԿՏԸՆԴԻՆ Հበ8

2099 Uncertain.

Obv. Dots in field.

PB(1).

*ԿՈ*ՏሮՆԴՆ ԹԳ ՀԱՅՈՑ

2100 **ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս** WM(1). Obv. Field mark $\boldsymbol{\zeta}$ and dot.

ԿՈՏԸՆԴՆ ԹԱԳՐ ՀՑ

Obv. Cross in field.

IS(1).



Կበያርኒጉኒ **ሶ**ዓ *ረ***3** (?)

2101 **ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ** (?) 2.17, PB.

*Կበ*ՏՆԴՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՐ*Ր ՀԱ

2102 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ** AD(1). Obv. Circle in field.

*ԿՈ*ՏՆԴՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՐ* ՀՑ

2103 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ* (?)

Obv. Four dots.

WM(1).

Obv. Two dots in field.

WM(I).

2105 ? *የሀጊԱቶՆ Ի ሀԻሀ*

Obv. Three dots in field.

WM(1).

2105a *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ*

Obv. Circle in field.

JG(I).

ԿበՏՆԴՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ (?)

2106 ? *የሀጊሀቶኒ ኮ ሀኮሀ*

AD(1).

2107 ՇԻՆԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ

AD(1).

2107a *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս*

JG(I).

ԿበՏՆԴՆ ԹԱԳ ՀՅ

*2108 ՇԻՆԵԱ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի ՍԻ

Obv. Field mark & under

horse.

*WM(1).



ԿበՏՆԴՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ (?)

2109 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ

Obv. Field mark \boldsymbol{l} under horse.

WM(1).

ԿՈՏԴՆ ԹԳ ՀԱՑՈՑ

MM(1).

2111 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՄԻ** (?) PB(1). Obv. Dot under horse.

*Կበሀር*ኒጉኒ *ԹԳՐ* ረ8

2112 **ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ** WM(1). Obv. Three dots in field.

ԿՈՍՏԴ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՑ

2113 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ** MM(1).

Կበሀጉ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀՑ

2114 **Tribul fulufi h U/** 2.22, PB.

ԿՈՍՏ(ԸՆԴ)ԻՆ ՀԱՅՈՑ

2115 THIBUL F FULLIFI UIL Obv. Field mark : under

horse.

WM(1).

2116 Thibul h August Uh Obv. Field mark : under

horse.

AN(I).



ԿՈՍՏԴՆ ԹԱԳ ՀԱՑ

2116a *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի Ս* IS(1).

ԿՏԸԴՆ ԹԳ ՀԱՅՈ8

2117 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ

2.16, PB.

2118 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս*

WM(2).

Rev. Uncertain.

WM(1); PB(1).

Rarity

*2119 Obv. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ሀ/

Rev. Thu... PULUF U

*WM(1).

Obv. Field mark 4.

COPPER COINS - POGHS

Struck in Tarsus

*ԿበՍՏԱՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳ*¹

*2120 6 PULL P FUL SUR

Rev. Note SUP [Tarsus].

Cross.

*HE(1); PB(1).

Struck in Sis

ԿՈՍՏԱՆԴԻՆ ԹԳ ՀԱՅՈՑ

Obv. King seated holding cross in right hand and fleur de lys in left hand.

Rev. Cross.

WM(I).



¹ These two poghs appear to be struck from the same die.

Կበሀ(የርኒጉኮ) ኒ *ԹԳ Հ*

2122 ՇԻՆԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս

Obv. King seated holding cross in right hand and fleur de lys in left hand.

Rev. Cross.

WM(3); PB(1).

Rev. Uncertain. WM(2).

ԿበՍՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԳ

*2123 ? **የ**ሀጊሀ**ኖ**ኒ . . .

Obv. King seated holding cross in right hand and fleur de lys in left hand.

Rev. Cross.



WM(i); PB(i).

ԿՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ

2124 Uncertain.

PB(2).

ԿՏԸ(ጉԻՆ) *(ԹԳ)ጡ Հ*

Obv. King seated holding cross in left hand and fleur de lys in right hand.

Rev. Cross.



WM(1); PB(1).

*Կበ*ՏՆԴՆ (?) *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ*

2126 **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս** PB(1).



ԿበՍՏԸ . . . ?

*2127 Uncertain.

WM(I);

Not legible.

WM(3); 1.30, PB; AN(1); JG(1).

Կበህ Ն ԹԱԳ

2128 **&/t**.....

NK(1).

LEVON THE USURPER

TAKVORINS

ԼԵՎՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

Obv. Circle to left of king.

2.15, PB; MM(1); IS(1).

Obv. Circle to left of king.

Rev. Usually circle or dot.

1.85; KK; *WM(4); AD(1); JG(1).

Obv. Circle to left of king.

Rev. Usually circle or dot.

WM(I); AD(I).

Obv. Field mark 6 to left

of king.

WM(2); AD(1).

Obv. Field marks dot and

circle.

2.24, PB.

Obv. Field mark •9.

2.24, PB.



396 Coinage of Cilician Armenia

2135 Thibul h fullati Obv. Field marks two

circles.

2.00; KK.

2136 Thibul h fulufi h U Obv. Field mark •9.

2.15, KK.

2137 Thibul h fullet Obv. No field marks.

WM(1).

2138 Thibul h fulufi h U Obv. Field mark 9.

Rev. Field mark o.

BN(1).

*2139 ThibUL h FULLIFI h Uh Obv. Circles in field.

*AD(1); WM(1).

2140 Thibul h full.... Obv. Field mark 9.

WM(1).

2141 Thibul h fullet h U Obv. Circle to left of king.

MM(I).

Rev. Uncertain.

JG(I).

ԼԵՎՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՈ

2142 Thibu h fulufi h Uh Obv. Circle to left of king.

2.24, PB.

ԼԵՎՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ

2143 **Thibul h fullifi h Uhu** Obv. Two circles.

WM(1).

2144 Thibul h fulufi h Uh Obv. Circle and dot.

2.30, KK.



Obv. Circle to left of king.

Rev. Two circles.

2.05, KK.

*2146 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ሀ

Obv. One or two circles in

field.

2.41; 1.99, PB; *WM(4); MM(1); BN(1); JG(1).

Obv. Circle and dot.

BM(1); AD(1).

2148 ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս

Obv. Circle and dot.

AH(1).

2149 *ՇԻՆԵԱ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի*

Obv. Two circles in field.

WM(1).

Obv./Rev. Circle in field.

PB(2).

Obv. Circle in field.

WM(2); AD(1); IS(1).

Obv./Rev. Circle in field

and cross in obverse.

*WM(1).

Obv. Circle in field.

MM(1); BN(1).

ԼԵՎՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ

2154 ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

Obv. Circle in field.

WM(1).

2155 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ

Obv. Two circles.

2.32, PB; WM(1); MM(1); IS(1); JG(1).

2156 ՇԻՆԵԱ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ሀ

Obv. Circle and dot.

1.98, PB; MM(1); BN(1)(?); IS(1).



Obv. Circle in field.

2.06, PB; WM(1); EB(1).

*2158 *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս*

Obv. Circle in field.

*NK(2); WM(3); AD(2); HK(1); MM(1); BN(1).

Rev. Uncertain.

MM(1); JG(1).

Obv. No field mark.

BN(1).

*2160 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ*(?)

Obv. Circle and dot in

field.

2.07, PB; *WM(1).

*ኒ*ԵՎՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ*

(Obv. and rev. Ltunt)

2161 *Obv. ԼԵՎՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՑ*

Obv. Circle in field.

Rev. Lbyn't punulm zus

2.38, PB; WM(1).

*2162 Obv. ԼԵՎՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱ

Obv. Circle in field.

Rev. ԼԵՎՈՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՐ ՀԱ

*WM(1); AA(1).

2163 *Obv. Լ*ԵՎ*Ո*Ն *ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ* /

Obv. Circle and dot.

Rev. ԼԵՎՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ(?)

AN(I).

COPPER COINS-POGHS

Obv. Letter for to right of horse's front legs.

*WM(4); AD(2).



Uncertain with P under horse. WM(1).

Obv. Letter P under horse.

2166 *ኒ*ቴՎበՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՐ*Ր (?) *ՀԱ*

Obv. Letter P under horse.

Rev. Uncertain.

BN(1).

Obv. Letter P to right of horse's front legs.

Obv. Letter & between horse's hind legs.

Rev. Letter & under lion's

front paws.

MM(1).

GOSDANTIN IV

TAKVORINS

ԿՈՍՏԱՆԴՆ Թ․․․․․ ՀՈ8

2169 **ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի Ք**Ա....

Obv./Rev. L/L.1

2.45, PB.

*ԿበՍՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ*Ր (?) *በ8*

2170 **ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ** WM(1).

¹ Field marks l/l and l/l are usually between the front and hind legs of the horse and lion unless stated otherwise.



ԿՈՍՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՐ ՀՈՑ

Obv./Rev. S/S between

hind legs.

BN(i); HE(i).

Obv./Rev. 1/1 between

hind legs.

IS(1).

ԿՈՍՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՐ Հ8

Obv./Rev. L/L.

WM(2).

Obv. $|Rev. L|_{L}$.

2.15; 2.00; 2.18; 1.99, PB; WM(3); AD(1).

ԿՈՍՏԸՆԴԻՆ (?) *ԹԱԳԱՐՐ Հ*

2174 ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ

Obv./Rev. L/L between

hind legs.

BN(I).

*Կበሀ*ያርՆጉԻՆ *ԹԱԳՐ* Հበ8

*2175 ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

Obv./Rev. S/S.

*WM(1); AD(2); MM(2); BN(1); PB(1).

2176 ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

Obv./Rev. L/L or S/S.

WM(3); AD(3); BN(3).

2177 ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ

Obv./Rev. L/L between

hind legs.

BN(2).

ԿበՍՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳ Հ8

2178 **ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ** WM(1). Obv./Rev. S/S.

` '



ԿበሀՏ(ԸՆ)ጉԻՆ Թጡ ረ8

*2179 *ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔՂՔՆ ՍԻՍ*

Obv./Rev. L/S.

*WM(1).

ԿበՍՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԳ Հ8

2180 *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ*

Obv./Rev. L/L.

Rev. L between front paws

of lion.

WM(1).

ԿበՍՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՐ

Obv. $|Rev. L|_{L}$.

1.93, PB; WM(1);

Rev. Uncertain.

AD(1).

*ԿበՍՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳՐ*Ր

 $Obv.|Rev. L|_{I}.$

AD(I).

ԿበՍՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԱԳ

Obv./Rev. 4/1 between

hind legs.

BN(1).

ԿՈՍՏԸՆԴՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀՈՑ

2184 ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

Obv./Rev. S/S or L/L.

2.05; 2.29; 2.23; 2.21, PB; BN(1); JG(2).

ԿՈՍՏԸՆԴՆ ԹԱԳԱՐ ՀՈՑ

2185 ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

Obv./Rev. S/S and L/L.

2.0; 2.17, PB; WM(2); AD(1); MM(1); BN(1); IS(1).

26

*2186 *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ* 2.15, PB; *WM(1). Obv./Rev. S/S or L/L.

ԿՈՍՏԸՆԴՆ ԹԱԳԱՐ Հ8

2187 **ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ** 1.93, PB; AD(2). Obv. $|Rev. L|_{L}$.

ԿበՍՏԸՆԴՆ ԹԱԳԱՐ Հ

Obv./Rev. L/L or S/S.

2.27; 2.00; 2.10, PB; NK(1); WM(1); AD(1); MM(1).

2189 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ*(?)

Obv. $|Rev. L|_{L}$.

WM(I); AD(I).

2189a **ՇԻՆԱ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ** (?)

Obv. $|Rev. L|_{L}$.

JG(I).

Rev. Uncertain.

IS(1).

*Կበሀ*ያሮՆጉՆ *ԹԱԳՐ* Հበ8

Obv./Rev. S/S.

1.87; 2.20; 2.22; 2.33, PB; WM(3); AD(3); JG(1).

2191 *ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ*

Obv./Rev. S/S.

WM(1); AD(1).

ԿበՍՏԸՆԴՆ ԹԱԳՐՐ Հ8

Obv./Rev. L/S.

2.05; 1.88; 2.14; 2.34; 2.26; 2.21; 2.18; 2.23, PB; WM(1)

Obv. |Rev. S|S.

WM(2).

*2194 **ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ**

Obv./Rev. L/L.

*WM(1).



2195 *ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ*

Obv./Rev. S/S.

1.95; 2.02, PB; AD(1); MM(1).

*2196 *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ*

Obv./Rev. S/S.

*WM(1);

Rev. Uncertain.

1.95, 2.05; PB.

ԿበՍՏԸՆԴՆ ԹԱԳՈՐ

2197 Uncertain.

Obv. $|Rev. S|_{S}$.

1.55, PB; IS(1).

ԿՈՍՏԸՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

2198 *ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ*

Obv. $|Rev. S|_{S}$.

AD(2).

*Կበ*ՏԱՆԴԻՆ (?) *ԹԱԳՐ* Է

Obv. $|Rev. L|_{L}$.

NK(1).

ԿՈՏԸՆጉԻՆ (?) *ԹԱԳԱՐ ՀՑ*

Obv./Rev. 4/4 between

hind legs.

BN(1).

*ԿՈ*ՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳՐ ՀՑ

Obv. $|Rev. L|_{L}$.

WM(I).

26*



*Կበ*ያርኒጉ*ኮ*ኒ *ԹԱԳ Հበ8*

Obv./Rev. L/L.

WM(1).

2203 ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

Obv./Rev. L/L.

AD(I).

*ԿՈ*ՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ

2204 *ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ* HK(1). Obv./Rev. L/L.

*ԿՈ*ՏԸՆԴԻՆ *ԹԱԳՐ*Ր

Obv. 4 between front and

hind legs.

Rev. 4 between front legs

MM(1).

ԿበՏՆጉԻՆ ԹԱԳՐՐ ՀԱ (?)

2206 **ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ** WM(1). Obv. $|Rev. L|_{L}$.

*Կበ*ՏԸՆԴՆ *ԹԱԳ ՀՈՑ Է*

2207 ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

Rev. 4 between front and

hind legs.

MM(1).

*2208 ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ

Obv. L above horse and

dots.

Rev. L between front and

hind legs.

*MM(1).



Obv. $|Rev. \bullet \cdot \downarrow | \bullet \downarrow$.

Obv. L between front and

hind legs.

Rev. L between hind legs.

MM(1).

ԿበՏՆԴՆ ԹԱԳԱՐ Հ8

2210 ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

Obv./Rev. L/L.

WM(I).

Obv. $|Rev. L|_{L}$.

AD(1).

ԿበՏՆԴՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ

Obv. |Rev. L|S.

WM(1); AD(1).

ԿበՏՆ(?) *ԹԱԳԱՒՐ* ՀԱՈ8

2213 ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ

Obv. $|Rev. L|_{L}$.

WM(1).

*Կበሀ*ያርՆጉՆ *ԹԱԳՐ* Հበ8

Obv. S/S.

Field marks between

front and hind legs.

*WM(6); PB(1).

Not clearly legible but belonging to this class: — WM(5); AA(1); VM(2).

¹ In most cases where $\mathcal{C}hUU$ appears, the letter U has an elongated arm as if it were a ligature of U and U.



ԿበሀርኒՆՆ ԹԱԳԱՐ ՀՈՑ

2215 ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

Obv./Rev. S/S.

AD(2); PB(1).

*Կበሀበ*ያርኄጉՆ *ԹԱԳՐ*ቦ (?) *Հበ8*

2216 *ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ* (?)

Obv. |Rev.S|5.

AD(1); JG(1).

COPPER COINS - POGHS

Takvorin type

2217 Obv. 4NUSC.... Rev. ՇԻՆ... Ի ՍԻՍ

WM(I).

2218 Obv. 4NU PUSM 28

Rev. **ՇԻՆ**... ኒ ሀ**Իሀ** (?)

WM(I).

2219 Obv. 4NUSC.... PUSM 2

Rev. ՇԻՆԵԼ ԳՆ ՍԻՍ

WM(1).

Rev. **ՇԻ**Ն...

WM(3), 2.25; 1.74, PB.

*2221 Obv. ԿՈՍ ሁዓሁጡ ረበ8

Rev. . . . **ЧИЦИЧъ** . . .

*WM(1).

2222 Obv. 4NUS ...

Rev. ... bl h ...

WM(I).

2223 Obv. **Կበሀያር**ኒጉሶ . . .

WM(I).

All field marks S/S and

between front and hind legs.

All field marks S/S and between front and hind legs.

All field marks S/S and between front and hind legs.

All field marks S/S and

between front and hind legs.

All field marks S/S and between front and hind legs.

All field marks S/S and between front and hind legs.

All field marks S/S and

between front and hind legs.



2224	Obv.	4NUS	. P	นร	
	Rev.	<i>ՇԻՆԱԼ</i>		UPUU	(?)
		WM(1).			

All field marks \$/\$ and between front and hind legs.

2225 Obv. Կበሀ\$... **ሀዓ**ጡ **ረ8** Rev. **ՇԻՆԵԼ** ... 1.57, PB.

All field marks \$/\$ and between front and hind legs.

Takvorin type with letter &

*2226 Obv. 40SUFL.... M 2

Rev. 6 FULL ... UPL ...

WM(2); *AD(1).

Obv. Letter \not between front and hind legs.

2227 Ohv. ԿՈՍՏԱՆԴԻՆ (?) ԹԱԳՐ ... Rev. ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂ... WM(2).

Obv. Letter ₱ between front and hint legs.

Uncertain inscription.

WM(2); AD(1).

2228 Obv. 4SUCTFT ... [211, 2UB118]

Rev. 6FULL ... LUF U

WM(3).

Obv. Letter P to right of front feet.

2229 Obv. 408676 ...

Rev. & FULL + FULUFE UF

BN(1).

Obv. Letter ₱ to right of front feet.

*2230 Obv. **ԿՏ**ሆ.... Rev. **ՇԻՆԱԼ** ... **ጊዜኖኒ ሀኮሀ** *WM(1). Obv. Letter h to right of front feet.

2230a Obv. 4S CFL $M \ \zeta$ Rev. CF..... IS(r).

Obv. Letter ₱ to right of front feet.

2231 Obv. ԿՈՍՄԵՆԴ (?) ԹԱԳՐ ՀՑ

Rev. ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

PB(1).

Obv. Letter h between front and hind legs.

Legend incomplete.

AD(1); MM(2); IS(1).

2232 Obv. 4SLP.... PUPUT 2
Rev. Tribl r ...

PB(1); AD(1).

*2233 Obv. ԿՏԱ...ኒԴ. ..**ጦ** ረ Rev. <mark>ՇԻՆԱԼ ԳԱՂ</mark>...

*WM(1); AD(2).

*2234 Obv. ԿՈՍՏԱՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳՈ (?) Rev. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱ.. ՍԻՍ *AD(1). Obv. Letter p between front and hind legs.

Obv. Letter ♠ between hind legs.

Obv. Letter ₱ above horse's head.

Takvorin type with letter & on reverse

Uncertain.

WM(1).

Rarity

*VM(I);

Uncertain.

BN(i); PB(i).

Obv. Horse walking left. Rev. Lion walking left.

LEVON V

BILLONS

*2237 Obv. **Լ**ԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳ

Obv. King's head.

Rev. UNIT ZUSIB

Rev. Cross

0.75, PB; *AA(1); WM(1); HE(1).

Obv. King's head.

Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲ

Rev. Cross

o.75, PB; *WM(2).

Obv. King's head.

Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍ (or U3) 0.55, PB; WM(1); AD(1). Rev. Cross



*2239 Obv. **ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ**

Obv. King's head.

Rev. Wrbwar zus *WM(2).

Rev. Cross

2240 Obv. **ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒ**

Obv. King's head.

Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ

Rev. Cross

WM(I).

2241 Obv. **ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒ**

Obv. King's head.

Rev. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ

Rev. Cross

AD(I).

Obv./Rev. Uncertain.

EB(1).

COPPER COINS - POGHS

*2242 Obv. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ I

Obv. Lion facing right.

Rev. UII bull Lust 2018

Rev. Cross.

0.90; 0.95, *PB; MM(1); AD(1);

Rev. Uncertain.

AD(1).

2243 Obv. **ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ**

Obv. Lion facing right.

Rev. Wrbwit zuens

Rev. Cross.

NK(I); AD(I);



Rev. Uncertain.

WM(1).



Rev. Uncertain.

WM(2);

Inscription uncertain.

0.75; 1.05, PB; WM(2); 0.65, KK; AD(1); JG(1).

*2245 Obv. **ኒ**ቴሎበኒ**/r**

Obv. Lion facing left.

 Rev. Cross.

POST ROUPENIAN (?)

[Pseudo-Armenian legend]

*2246 Obv. King on horseback walking right.

*2247 Rev. Lion walking right.

AD(1); PB(2); WM(2); *MM(4); BN(2); BM(1).

*2248 Rev. Lion walking left.

*WM(1).

2249 Obv. King on horseback, walking left.

Rev. Lion walking left.

PB(1).



INDEX OF LEGENDS

LEVON I

DOUBLE TRAMS

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՑՆ ՀԱՅՈՑ	
1.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԵԱՄԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ</i>	131
Ъ. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԵԱՄԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ</i>	131
2. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԵԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ	132
3. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ	132
ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԳՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՑՆ ՀԱՑՈՑ	
ı. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԵԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈ Ց	132, 134
2. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ	132
3. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ	133
<i>ኒ</i> ԵՒՈՆ <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ</i>	
ı. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԵԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈՅ	133
2. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ	134
HALF DOUBLE TRAMS	
<i>ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ</i> Ե or /	
I.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ <i>ՈՅ</i>	134
b <i>. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i> ԾՈՅ	134
c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹՒԲՆ ԱՍՏՒԾՈՅ</i>	135
ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ	
ı. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԵԱՄԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈ Ց	135, 137
2.a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ ԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ	135
b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՍՒԾՈՅ</i>	136
c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲ</i> Ն ԱՍՏՈԾ <i>ՒՈՅ</i>	136
d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՒ</i> ԾՈՅ	136
e. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾՈ</i>	136
f. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ</i> ԾՈՅ	136
g. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՒՈՅ</i>	136



412	Coinage of Cilician Armenia	
	h. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՅ</i>	136
	i. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՒՍՈՑ</i>	137
	3. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԵԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾՈ	137
•	HALF TRAMS	
Quar	ter Double Tram	
	ԼԵ <i>ՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳ</i> —ԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ	137
Half	Trams	
	<i>ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ Է</i>	
	1. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈ	137
	<i>ኒ</i> ԵՒՈՆ <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑԱՑ Է</i>	
	1. <i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈՒ <i>ԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈ	138
	<i>ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ8</i>	
	ı.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ۴Ն ԱՍՏՈ</i> Ծ <i>Ո</i> Յ	138
	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ</i>	138
	<i>ኒ</i> ԵՒՈՆ <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ</i> Ց	
	ı.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾՈՅ</i>	138
	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i> ԾՈ	138
	<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ8</i>	
	ı. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲ</i> Ն ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ	138
	<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	
	1. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ [Inverted inscription]	138
	CORONATION TRAMS	
One la	ion type	
	<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ8</i>	
	1.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՑ Է ԹԱԳՈ</i> Ր	139
	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՒԾՈՅ</i>	139
	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i> ԾՈ	139
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾ I</i>	139
	e. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i>	139



Index of Legends	413
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ</i>	
1. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲ</i> Ն ԱՍՏ	139
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> ՀԱՅՈ	
1.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i>	139
b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ</i> /	139
c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ</i>	139
ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՑ	
1.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ</i>	139
Two lion type [With letters in obverse field]	
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ</i> Ց <u></u>	
1. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ</i> [ՅԱ]	140
<u> </u>	
ı. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏԼ</i> [Ց Ա]	140
<i>ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ8</i>	
1. $ extstyle 4$ ሀን $[oldsymbol{artheta} imes]$	140
ԼԵՒՈՆ <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> Ր ՀԱՑ <i>Լ</i>	
፤. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍ ((8</i>)	140
Two lion type [No letters in obverse field]	
ԼԵՒՈՆ <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ </i>	
1. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏԼ</i>	140
ԼԵՒՈՆ <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ</i>	
1.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ</i>	141
b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈ	141
c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	141
d. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ	141
e. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i>	142
f. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ / ~	142
g. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ</i>	142



Coinage of Cilician Armenia

<u> </u>	
ı. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԱԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i>	143
2.a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ <i>Լ</i>	143
b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ</i>	143
c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍ</i>	143
ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ	
ı.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏԼ</i>	143
b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ</i>	143
<u> ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՈ8</u>	
ı.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	144
b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i>	144
ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՑ	
1. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍ</i> Տ	144
TRAMS	
<u> ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳՐՐ ԱՄԵՆ ՀԱՑՈ8</u>	
ı.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈՅ	144
b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՌԾՈՑ</i>	145
c. <i>ԿԱԻՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈ	145
d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾՈՅ</i>	146
e. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՒԾՈ</i>	146
ք. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՒ</i> ԾՈ Ց	146
g. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾՈ	146
<u> ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳՐ ԱՄԵՆ ՀԱՑՈ</u>	
ı.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ</i> Ց	146
b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՒԾՈՑ</i>	147
<u> ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳՐ ԱՄԵՆ ՀԱՑ8</u>	
1.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծበ 8	147
b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈ	147
c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՌԾՈ</i>	147



	Index of Legends	415
Լ ԵՒ	በኄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ Է [Non-artistic]	
	1.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ</i>	147
With	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i>	148
Footstool	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑՈՅ</i>	148
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ8</i>	148
	e. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑ</i>	149
	2.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ</i>	149
No	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i>	150
Footstool	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ց	150
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑ</i>	150
Obverse	3.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i> Յ	151
ornate	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՁՈ</i>	151
	4.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԱԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i> Յ	151
Reverse	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ</i>	151
with 🛪	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i>	152
ԼԵՒՈ	የՆ <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ8 ၊</i> [Artistic]	
	1.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ</i> 8	152
	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ</i>	152
	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ</i>	152
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i>	152
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i>	ጉ	
	1.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ</i>	152
	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ '</i>	152
	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	153
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i>	ጌ	
	1.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈ Ց	153
	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈ	153
	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	153
<i>ኒ</i> ৮/Ն	<i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ</i> լե [Non-artistic]	
	I. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i> Յ	153



ԼԵՒՈՆ	คนจนหกา	
No footstool	ı.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈ	153
	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՈՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	153
	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i> Ծ	154
ԼԵՒՈՆ	คนจนหา วนอนบอ [Distinctive design]	
	1.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲ</i> Ն ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ 😷	154
With	Ъ. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈ	154
footstool	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ 😷	154
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	154
	e. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ <i>ԹԲ</i> Ն ԱՈՏՈՒԾ •🕻	154
	f. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՈՏԻ</i> Ծ	154
	2.a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ Բ Ն ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ Ց	155
Two dots	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈ	155
on obverse	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ•🕻	155
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	155
	e. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՈՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	155
	f. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾ	155
	g. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ Բ Ն ԱՍՏՈ	155
ԼԵՒՈՆ	คนจนหกา	
	ı.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈ Ց	155
	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՌԾՈՅ</i>	155
	c. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ <i>ԹԲ</i> Ն ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ	156
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՌ</i> ԾՈ	156
	e. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	156
	f. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾ	156
	g. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲ</i> Ն ԱՍՏՈՒ	156
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն	คนจนพา	
	ı.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ I</i>	156
	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i> Ծ	156
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն	คนจนหา	
	ı.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲ</i> Ն ԱՍՏՌԾ <i>Ո</i> Յ	156
	Ъ. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	156
	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑ</i>	156
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i>	157



Index of Legends	417
ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑԱՈՑ [Artistic]	
1.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈ	157
b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	157
c. <i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> Ղ <i>ՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՈՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	157
d. <i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՍ I	157
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ8</i> Ա	
1. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	157
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՈ8</i>	
1. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	157
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ8</i> [Artistic [፲ 	
1.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ8 /	158
Ъ. <i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> Ղ <i>ՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈ Ց	158
c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ</i> ՌԾ <i>Ո</i> Յ	159
d. <i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> Ղ <i>ՈՒԹԲ</i> Ն ԱՍՏՈ <i>Ւ</i> ԾՈ '	159
e. <i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈՒ <i>ԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈ	159
f. <i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈՒ <i>ԹԲ</i> Ն ԱՍՏՒԾՈ	160
g. <i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈՒԹ Բ Ն ԱՍՏՈԾՈ Ց	160
h. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	160
i. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՒ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ '</i>	161
j. <i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈՒ <i>ԹԲ</i> Ն ԱՈՏՈ Ւ Ծ	161
k. <i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈՒ <i>ԹԲ</i> Ն ԱՍՏՈԾՈ	161
1. <i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ	161
m. <i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈՒԹ Բ Ն ԱՍՏՍՒ	161
n. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i> Ծ	161
o. <i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈՒԹ <i>Բ</i> Ն ԱՍՏՈ	162
p. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՍ</i>	162
զ. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ</i> /	162
r. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ</i>	162
s. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍ I</i>	162
t. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍ</i>	162
2.a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ	162
King's crown b. ዛԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ	162
within circle c. ዛዜቦበጊበት ውኖኒ ԱህՏበትን	162



27

418	Coinage of Cilician Armenia	
	3.a. ዛ Ա <i>ቦበጊበՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈ [Artistic (물-	163
Cross entirely	- · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	163
within circle	c. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՍ I	163
Reverse	4.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈ	163
coronation	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՒ</i> ԾՈ	163
type	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ</i> ՌԾ	163
cross	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i>	163
	5.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ</i>	163
King's left foo	ot b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i>	164
turned outwa	rd c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑՈ</i>	164
	ı.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՈՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈ	164
	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	164
	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲ</i> Ն ԱՈՏՈՒԾ	164
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ</i> ՌԾ	164
	e. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾ	164
	f. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i>	165
	g. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏԻԾ	165
	h. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՒ</i>	165
	i. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՅՈԱ</i> Ծ	165
	6.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ</i>	165
Ornate	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈԿ</i>	165
design	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i>	165
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՌ</i> ԾՈ	166
Ornate	7.a. ԿԱՐՈՂ ՈՒ ԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ	166
No footstool	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i>	166
Star in	8.a. <i>ዛԱՐበጊበՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑበՅ</i> [Non-artistic]	167
inscription circle	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i> [cross ★(+ 【]	167
	9.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ</i>	168
No	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i>	169
footstool	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՍՒՑՈ</i>	169
Inscription reversed	10. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i> (+ ፲ → ×	169



	Inaex of Legends	419
	11.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ Է</i> [Non-artistic]	169
With	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i> Ց	170
footstool	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i>	171
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ8</i>	172
	e. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՍ 8</i>	173
	f. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲ</i> Ն ԱՍՏՈՑՈ	173
	g. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑ</i>	173
	h. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՑՈՑ</i> (?)	173
	i. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ/8</i>	174
	j. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՑ</i>	174
	12.a. ዛ Ա <i>ቦበጊበՒԹ۴Ն ԱՍՏՈՒՑበ</i> Յ Է [Non-artistic]	174
No	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ</i>	174
footstool	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i>	175
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ց	176
	e. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑ</i>	177
	f. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ <i>Լ</i>	178
	g. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՑ</i>	178
<i>ԼԵՒ</i> /	ባ ኒ 	
	1.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ</i> [Artistic]	178
With	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՒԾՈՅ</i>	178
footstool	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈ	178
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i> ՒԾՈ	178
	e. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	178
	f. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾ I</i>	179
	g. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i> Ծ	179
	h. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i>	179
	i. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i>	179
	j. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՐ</i>	179
	k. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ</i>	179
•	2.a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ/ [Artistic]	179
No	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ '</i>	179
footstool	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	179
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ/</i>	179
	e. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾ	180
	f. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ	180
	g. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ</i>	180
27 ⁶		



42 0	Coinage of Cilician Armenia	
	3.a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ [Cross (+	180
Cross	ъ. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ</i> ՌԾ	180
within	c. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՍ I	180
circle	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i>	180
	4.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՁበՑ Է</i> [Non-artistic]	181
With	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ</i>	181
footstool	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i>	181
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ց	182
	5.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ Է</i> [Non-artistic]	182
No	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՁՈՑ</i>	182
footstool	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i>	183
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ց	183
	e. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑ	183
	ք. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i>	184
	6.a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ ԾՈ [Cross (1- វ]	184
Sq. type	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	184
	c. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՌԾ	184
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i> Ծ	184
	e. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՑՈԱԾ <i>I</i>	184
	ք. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՑՈԱ</i> Ծ	184
Sq. type	7.a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ [Cross (* 】]	184
Dot on $\boldsymbol{\zeta}$	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i> Ծ	185
	8.a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ [Cross (1 】]	185
Sq. type	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՌ</i> Ծ	185
Dot on $\boldsymbol{\zeta}$	c. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾ	185
Inverted \boldsymbol{b}	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՑՈԱ</i> Ծ	185
Dot on $\boldsymbol{\zeta}$ $\boldsymbol{\beta}$ instead of \boldsymbol{b}	9. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ [Non-artistic]	185
	10. ዓ ሀ/ በጊብት	185
No footstool	TT <i>ԿԱՐՈՂ ՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՁՈ</i>	186



	Index of Legends	421
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i>	ገ Ն 	
	1.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ <i>ՈՅ</i> [Artistic]	186
With	b. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ	186
footstool	c. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ <i>'</i>	186
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	186
	e. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ	187
	ք. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i> Ծ	187
	g. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ	187
	2.a. ዛሀ ቦበጊበ ኦሎኖኒ ԱՍՏበኦ <mark></mark> Ծበ [Artistic]	187
	Ъ. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ י</i>	187
	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ	187
No	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i>	188
footstool	e. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i> Ծ	188
	ք. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ</i>	188
	3.a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ [Non-artistic]	188
No	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i>	188
footstool	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑ ¹</i>	188
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ց	189
	e. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑ</i>	189
	4.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ</i> [Cross *(+ 【]	189
	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i>	189
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i>	ՈՆ <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈ</i> Ր ՀԱՈՑ	
	1.a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ [Obv. non-artistic]	189
With	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ</i> [<i>Rev</i> . artistic]	189
footstool	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ I</i>	190
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	190
	e. <i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ <i>Լ</i>	190
	ք. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i> Ծ	190
	g. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ	191
	2.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈՅ [Obv. non-artistic]	191
No	b. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ [<i>Rev.</i> artistic]	191
footstool	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈ	192
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՌ</i> ԾՈ	192
	e. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ۴</i> Ն <i>ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ <i>'</i>	192



422	Coinage of Cilician Armenia	
	ք. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	192
	g. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i> Ծ	192
	h. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i>	192
	i. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏI</i>	192
	j. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ</i>	193
	3.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ</i> [Non-a	artistic] 193
With	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i>	193
footstool	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ց	193
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑ</i>	193
	4.a. <i>ካԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ</i> [Non-a	artistic] 194
No	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i>	194
footstool	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ց	194
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՍՒՑ</i>	194
	e. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑ	194
	ք. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՑՈ</i>	195
Star in	ı.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ</i> [Cross	*(-1] 195
legend	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i>	195
circle	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ց	195
<u> Լ</u> ԵՒՈ	የ <i>ኒ </i>	
	1.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ</i> [Artis	tic] 195
	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՌԾՈՑ</i>	195
	c. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ	196
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՌ</i> ԾՈ	196
	e. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾՈՅ	196
	ք. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i> ԾՈ	196
<i>ኒ</i> ৮/ነ	,	
	1.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈՅ [Artis	tic] 196
	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՌԾՈՑ</i>	197
	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈ	197
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՌ</i> ԾՈ	197
	e. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	197
	f. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i>	197



	Index of Legends	423
ԼԵՈՆ	, ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ	
	1.a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ [Non-artistic]	197
	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i>	197
	2. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ [Artistic]	197
ԼԵՈՆ		
	1.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ [Artistic]	198
	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i> Ծ	198
<i>ԼԵՈ</i> Ն	- ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ★ ՀԱՅൎጂ: ՈՑ+	
	1.a. <i>ካԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ</i> [Non-artistic]	198
Obverse	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i>	198
gold	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈՒ <i>ԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՁՈ</i>	198
coin	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏዌՈՅ</i>	198
type	e. <i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> Ղ <i>ՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՑՈ</i>	198
	f. <i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> Ղ <i>ՈՒԹԲ</i> Ն ԱՍՏ Ց Ո	198
	g. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i>	198
	h. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՑՏ</i>	199
	i. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ</i>	199
ԼԵՒՈ	Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ</i>	
	1.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ' [Artistic]	199
	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i>	199
	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i> Ծ	199
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i>	199
	e. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ</i>	199
	2.a. ዛԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ [Non-artistic]	199
	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i>	199
	c. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑՈ	200
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ց	200
	3.a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ[Cross(+	200
L with dot	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	200
	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՈՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	200
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i> Ծ	200
Foot turned	4.a. ዛ Ա <i>ՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i> Ծ [Cross (፣ 🚶]	200
	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i>	200
	<i>~ ህዝቦበባ በኢቡድ</i> ኑ <i>ዘዴበዘዝ</i> የአ	201



424 Coinage of Cilician Armenia

	1.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ</i> [Artistic]	201
With	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i>	201
footstool	e. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՍ I</i>	201
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i>	201
	e. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏI</i>	201
	f. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍ</i> Տ	201
	2.a. ዛԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ [Artistic]	201
No	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i>	201
footstool	c. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾ	202
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i>	202
No footstool	3.a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ [Non-artistic]	202
	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ</i>	202
	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՒՈՑՈ</i>	202
	4.a. <i>ዛԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈԼ</i> [Non-artistic]	202
No	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i>	203
footstool	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ց	203
Լ <i>ԵՒՈ</i> Ն	<i>• •</i> ሁንሁሉበ <i>ቦ ረሀ8</i> ፡	
	ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՌԾ [Cross (🛨 🕇 📗]	203
	ı.a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ	203
Dot on L	Ե. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾ</i>	203
	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՏՈ</i> Ծ	203
ԼԵՒՈՆ	,	
Some left	1.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i> Ժ Է	206
foot turned	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՑ</i>	204
outward	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ց	204
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i>	206
	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i>	204
<i>ኒ</i> ቴሎበኒ	,	
	1.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈ [Artistic]	204
With	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i> Ւ	204
footstool	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ</i> /	204
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ</i>	204



	Index of Legends	425
	2.a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ [Non-artistic]	204
	Ъ. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i>	204
	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑ</i>	205
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՒ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ։	205
	e. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i> /	205
	f. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲ</i> Ն ԱՍՏՈ	205
	g. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՏ/	205
	h. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ</i>	205
	3.a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՈՏՈՒԾՈ [Cross (ተ 🚶]	205
No	Ъ. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	205
footstoo	•	205
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՍ/Ծ</i>	205
	<i>ኒ</i> ԵՒՆ <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀՈՑ</i>	
	1.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i>Ծ [Artistic]	206
	ъ. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i> I	206
	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i> Ծ	206
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i> '	206
	e. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i>	206
	f. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏI</i>	207
	<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՈ</i>	
	1. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑ [Non-artistic]	207
	<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՈ</i>	
	1.a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑ [Non-artistic]	207
	ъ. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑ</i>	207
	<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ</i> /	
	1. ሃ ሀ <i>ՐበጊበՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏԼ</i> [Artistic]	207
	2. ዛ Ա <i>ՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i> [Non-artistic]	207
	<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ</i>	
With	ı.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ց	207
footstoo	_	207



*ԼԵՒՈ*Ն *ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ*

With	ɪ.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏԼ</i> [Artistic]	208
footstool	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ</i>	208
No footstool	1.a. ฯԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ [Artistic]	208
	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ</i>	208
	2. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑՈ [Non-artistic]	208
	3.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ</i> [Non-artistic]	208
No footstool	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i>	20 8
	c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ց	208
	d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑ</i>	209
ԼԵՒՈՆ	,	209
No footstool	1.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i> [Artistic]	209
	ъ. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱԱՏ</i>	,
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն	. ԹԱԳԱՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ	
	1.a. ዛ ሀ <i>ՐበጊበՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> [Artistic]	209
	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏI</i>	209
No footstool	2.a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ [Non-artistic]	2 09
	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ց	209
<i>ኒ</i> ԵՒՆ /	ԹԱԳԱՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ	209
	1.a. ዛԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ [Artistic]	
	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈ 	210
	c. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ	210
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն	. ԹԱԳԱՒԱ Ո ՀԱՑ	
	1.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i> Ծ [Artistic]	210
	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ</i> լ	210
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն	<i>ԹԱԳՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ8</i>	
	1.a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ [Non-artistic]	210
	b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ8</i>	210



Index of Legends	427
Lily in right hand	
<i>ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ</i>	
ı.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ</i>	210
Ъ. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ</i>	211
c. <i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈՒ <i>ԹԲ</i> Ն ԱՍՏՈՒԾ	211
d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑՈ</i>	211
e. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՑ</i>	211
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> Ր ՀԱՅՈՑ	
1. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ [Cross (1 - 【]	211
ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ	
ı.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ</i>	211
b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈ	211
c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲ</i> Ն ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈ	211
d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	211
e. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՈՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	212
f. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՈՏՒԾ '</i>	212
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ</i>	
ı.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲ</i> Ն ԱՍՏՈԾ	212
b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՅՈԱՏՒ</i>	212
ԼԵՈՆ <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> Ր ՀԱՅՈ	
ı.a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒՑՈՅ</i>	212
b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> Ծ	212
c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՍՒ</i> Ծ	212
<i>ኒեՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅ</i> ∙ ℰ ೪	
1.a. ฯԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ Ծ [Artistic]	212
b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՅՈԱ</i> Ծ	212
c. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՅՈԱՏ Ծ	213
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> Ր ՀԱՅՈ∙	
1. <i>ዛԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՅՈԱ</i> Ծ [Artistic]	213



Rev. Inscription upside down.213Irregularities or errors in legend.215

213

COPPER COINS - TANKS

ጊԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՒՈՑ

2 dots on crown	ı. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	217
5 dots on crown	2.a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻՍ	217
	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	217
	c. <i>ՇኮՆԵԱԼ ኮ ՔԱՂԱՔՍ ኮ Սኮ</i>	217
	d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՍ Ի ՍԻ</i>	217
5 dots on crown	3.a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	217
and one curl	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻ</i>	217
5 dots on crown	4.a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻՍ	218
and two curls	[Cross with three steps]	218
	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻ</i>	218
6 dots on crown	5.a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	218
	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	218
	c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՍ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	218
	d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	218
	[Cross with six pointed star]	218
	e. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻ	218
	ք. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՍ Ի ՍԻ</i>	218
	g. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍՍ	218
	h. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս</i>	219
6 dots on crown	6.a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	219
and single curl	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ</i>	219
Ç	c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻ</i>	219
7 dots on crown	7. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	219



	Index of Legends	429
7 dots on crown	8.a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	220
and single curl	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻ</i>	220
8 dots on crown	9.a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	220
	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻՍ</i>	220
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱ</i>	<i>ዓԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ8</i>	
5 dots on crown	ı. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	220
5 dots and	2.a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	220
two curls	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	220
	[Cross with six pointed star]	
	c. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻ	220
6 dots and single cur	1 3. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ (?)	221
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱ</i>	<u>ዓ</u> ԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒՈ	
5 dots on crown	1.a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	221
	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՍ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	22 I
	c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻ</i>	221
	d. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՍ Ի ՍԻ	221, 222
	e.	221
	ք. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՍ Ի Ս	221
	2.a. <i>ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՐԱՂԱՐՍ ԻՆ Ի ՍԻ</i>	221
	3.a. Thibul h Ruluru h Uhu [Cross with one step]	222
	b. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻՍ	222
	[Cross with two steps]	
	c. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՍ Ի ՍԻՍ	222
	[Cross ornate with three steps]	
5 dots and	4. ՇሶՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻՍ	222
one curl	[Cross with six pointed star]	
	5.	222
6 dots on crown	6.a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	222
	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՍ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	222
	c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	222
	d. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻ	223
	e. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՍ Ի ՍԻ	223



430	Coinage of Cilician Armenia	
	7.a. Tribul r fulufu r Uru [Ornate cross with three steps]	223
	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՍ Ի ՍԻՍ</i> [Ornate cross with three steps]	223
	c. Thibul h fulufu h uhu [Cross with three steps]	223
6 dots and	8.a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	223
one curl	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻ</i>	223
6 dots and two cur	ls 9. Tribul r fulufu r Uru [Ornate cross with three steps]	224
7 dots on crown	10.a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	224
	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻ</i>	224
7 dots on crown and two curls	II. Trull r fuller r upu [Cross ornate with three steps]	224
<i>ኒ</i> ቴ <i>ՒՈ</i> ኄ <i>Թ</i>	<u> ሀ</u> ዓ <u></u> ሀኑበ <i>ቦ ረሀ</i> ୫ኑሀ	
5 dots on crown	ı. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻՍ	224
6 dots and two curls	Ornate cross with three steps]	224
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն Թ	<u> ሀ</u> ዓ <i>ԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒ</i>	
5 dots on crown	ı.a. Շ <i>ԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	225
	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՍ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	225
5 dots and one curl	2. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻ	225
6 dots on crown	3. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻՍ	225
6 dots on crown	4.a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	225
and one curl	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻ</i>	225
	c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի Ս</i>	226
7 dots on crown and one curl	5. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻ	226
For	rgeries.	226



	Index of Legends	431
	HETOUM I	
	BILINGUAL TRAMS	
Hetoum—Kaikobad		
a. <i>461</i>	<i>ውበՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ8</i>	227
b. <i>461</i>	ውበኦሆ ውሀዓሀኑበቦ ረሀ8በ8 [with scroll]	227
Hetoum—Kaikhusrew	,	
a. <i>461</i>	<i>ውበኑሆ </i>	228
[Uı	ndated—Epigraphy similar	
to	Hetoum-Kaikobad]	
	<i>ውበኑሆ ው</i> ሀዓ ሀኑ ም ረሀ ይ በ8	229
	Н. 637	
	<i>ቀበՒՄ </i>	230
	H. 637 [Epigraphy intermediate between	n
	ikobad and later Kaikhusrew]	
• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	<i>ውበՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ8</i>	230
	Н. 637	
•	ውበኦሆ ውሀዓሁኑም ረሀፅበፅ	231
	H. 639 [Mixed Epigraphy]	
	<i>ውበՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ8</i>	232
	H. 640	
•	<i>ውበኑሆ ው</i> ԱԳԱ <i>ኑጦ ረህ</i> ୫በ8	232
	H. 641	
•	<i>ውበኑሆ ው</i> ԱԳԱ <i>ኑՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ8</i>	232
	H. 641	222
•	ውበትሆ ው ԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ Ց	233
	Н. 642 Альт Ананьм энгле	222
•	<i>ውበኑሆ ው</i> ԱԳԱ <i>ኑጦ ረԱՑበ8</i> u 6.2	233
	H. 642 <i>ውበኦሆ <i>ው</i>ԱዓԱ<i>ኦጡ ረԱՑበ8</i></i>	024
•	н. 643	234
	11. 043 <i>ውበՒሆ ው</i> ԱԳԱ <i>ՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ8</i>	224
· ·	te not completely legible	234
Da	te not completely legione	
Half trams		
	um—Kaikobad	234
Heto	um—Kaikhusrew	235



HETOUM—ZABEL

TRAMS

Cross u	vith	star-	lion	holding	cross
---------	------	-------	------	---------	-------

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ'—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՑ Ե

a.	. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑՈՑ	235
b.	. ՀԵԹՈՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ	236

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՑ Ե

a.	ZCMIINU.	יוויעאעאיי	<i>น</i> ยแช	230
b.	<i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ</i>	<i>የ</i> ህዝሀዝ	<i>4UB8</i>	2 36
c.	<i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ</i>	<i></i>	<i>นเ</i> ยก	236
d.	ՀԵԹՈՒՄ	<i></i> የህዓህኑም	ZUB C	237
e.	<i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ</i>	<i>የ</i> ህየህአጥ	<i>4UB</i>	237
f.	<i>ኒ</i> ኩውበሌሆ	PHINIM 2	211	237

*ԿԱՐՈ*ՂՈՒԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՑ

a	<i>ኒ</i> ኩውበЫՐ	<i>የ</i> ህዝሀት	ZILRNR	2	3	7
	SUPTITU	1.01.01.11	SOUTH	~	- 1	,

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—ԻՆՆ ԱՅՈ Է

a.	ՀԵԹՈՒՄ	<i></i>	<i>ZUBI'</i>	237
b.	<i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ</i>	<i></i>	<i>4UB</i>	237

a	ՀԵԹՈԽՐ	<i>የ</i> ህዝብ	21LRN8	23
r I .	4131V111141	r il itali il	SUMMER	Z ·

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—ԻՆՆ Ց Ե

2	3	C
	2	- 230

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—ԻՆ ԱՅ Ե

2	<i>ን</i> ԻԹՈЫՐ	PHIHILM	211 <i>RR</i>	238	ζ
a .		PILITALII	SIMINI.	230	,



Index of Legends	433
<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՒ</i> ՆՆ ԱՅ Ե	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ</i>	238
b. <i>ረቴቦበՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ</i>	238
e. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> Ր Հ <i>ԱՑՐ</i>	238
d. <i>ረቴԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑ</i>	238
<i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> Ղብ <i>Թ—ԻՒ</i> ՆՆ Ա Ց	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒ</i> Ր ՀԱՑՈՑ	239
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒ</i> Ր ՀԱՅՈ	239
<i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈԹ—ԻՆՆ ԱՑ Ե	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ8</i>	239
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ°</i>	239
c <i>. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈ</i> Ր ՀԱՑՑ	2 39
d. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ</i>	239
e. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈ ^ւ ՀԱՅՐ	240
f. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> ՀԱՑ	240
<i>ԿԱՐՂՈՒԹ—ԻՒ</i> ՆՆ Ա Ց Է	
a. <i>ረԵԹԱՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> Ր ՀԱՅՈՑ	240
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ</i> I	240
<i>ԿԱՐ</i> Ղ <i>ՈՒԹ—ԻՒ</i> ՆՆ <i>ԱՑ</i>	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ8</i>	241
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ</i>	241
c. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	241
Cross with dot—lion holding cross	
<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—ԻՒ</i> ՆՆ ԱՅ Է	
a. ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ	241
Ъ. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՑ</i>	242
c. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> Ր ՀԱՅՈ	242
d. <i>ረቴԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՐ</i>	243
e. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	243



25

<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—ԻՒ</i> ՆՆ <i>ԱՑ</i>	
a. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑՈ8	24 3
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ</i> Ր	243
c. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ</i>	243
d. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ</i> ՀԱ	243
<i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՅ	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ8</i>	243
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ</i>	244
c. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ8</i>	244
d. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	244
ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՆՆ ԱՑ <u>Է</u>	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ8</i>	244
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ8</i>	244
c. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑ</i>	244
<i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈ <i>¹—ԹԻ</i> Ն ԱՑ	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ8</i>	245
b. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄԻ ՀԱՑՈ</i>	245
Transition dies	245
Cross with dot—lion walking	
ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՅՈ Է	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱ8</i>	246
<i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈՒԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՑ Է	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ8</i>	246
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ</i> °	246
c. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ</i>	246
d. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄՐ ՀԱՑՐ</i>	246
e. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	246
f. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱ	247
g. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ	247
h. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> Հ	247



Index of Legends	435
<i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈՒԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՑ	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ8</i>	247
ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—ԻՆՆ ԱՑ Ե	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ8</i>	247
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> ՀԱՑՈ	247
c. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> Ր ՀԱՑ	247
d. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> Ր ՀԱ	248
e. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ	248
f. <i>ረ</i> Ե <i>ԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ</i>	248
ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ— <i>ԹԻՒ</i> ՆՆ ԱՅ	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	248
<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻՒՆ ԱՅ Է</i>	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ</i>	248
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՐ</i>	248
c. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> ՀԱՅ	248
d. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> ՀԱ	248
e. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ	249
f. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> Հ	249
<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻՒ</i> Ն ԱՅ	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ</i>	249
ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ— ԹԻ ՆՆ ԱՅ Ե	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ8</i>	249
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ</i>	249
c. <i>ረቴԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> Ր ՀԱՅՐ	249
d. <i>ረቴዎበՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> ՀԱՅ	250
e. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> Ր ՀԱ <i>¹</i>	250
f. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒ</i> Ր ՀԱ	250
g. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄԻ ՀԱ</i>	250
h. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> Ր Հ	251

28°



<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻ</i> Ն'ԱՅ <u></u> ֈ	
a. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑՐ	251
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ</i>	251
c. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄԻ ՀԱ</i>	251
<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻ</i> ՆՆ <i>ԱՅ</i>	
a. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑՐ</i>	251
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	251
c. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱԿ</i>	252
d. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ</i>	252
e. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ</i> Լ	252
f. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ</i>	252
<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻՆ ԱՑ Է</i>	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ8</i>	25 3
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ</i>	25 3
c. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՐ</i>	253
d. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	25 3
e. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱԿ</i>	25 3
f. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ</i> Ր ՀԱ	254
g. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ</i> Ր ՀԼ	254
h. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ</i>	254
<i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈ <i>¹—-</i> Թ <i>Ի</i> Ն ԱՑ	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	254
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ</i>	254
ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՅ <u>Է</u>	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ</i>	255
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ</i> °	255
c. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ	255
d. <i>ረቴԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՐ</i>	255
e. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	255
f. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱԿ	256
g. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ</i>	256
h. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ	256
i. 260/1017 04941/117 21	256
j. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ Հ	256



Index of Legends	437
ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՆՆ ԱՑ Է	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ8</i>	257
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՐ</i>	257
c. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	² 57
d. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ I</i>	257
<i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈԹ—ԻՒՆ ԱՑ Է	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> ՀԱ	257
ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՆՆ ԱՑՈ Է	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	257
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ</i>	² 57
<i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈԹ—ԻՆՆ ԱՅՈ	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	257
b <i>. ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ</i>	258
c. <i>ረቴሶበՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> Ր ՀԱ	258
d. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ</i>	258
e. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ</i>	258
ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—ԹԻՆ ԱՅ Է	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՐ</i>	258
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	258
c. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ</i>	258
<i>ԿԱՐՈՂ՝—ԹԻՆ ԱՑ</i>	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՐ</i>	258
b <i>. ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> Ր ՀԱ	258
c. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ</i> Լ	258
<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈ</i> '—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՑ Է	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	258
ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԻՆՆ ԱՑ Է	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ!</i>	259
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> Ր ՀԱՑ	259
•	



Cross without dot—lion walking

ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՅ Է a. ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ 259 b. *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՐ* 259 c. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ 259 d. *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ* 259 ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՅ 260 a. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՅՐ ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—ԻՆՆ ԱՅ Է a. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՐ 260 b. *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ* 260 ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՅ Է a. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՅՈՑ 260 260 b. *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՐ* c. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ 260 261 d. *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ* 261 e. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԼ ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՒՆ ԱՅ Է a. ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ 261 ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՆՆ ԱՅՈ Է a. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՅՐ 261 b. *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ* 261 c. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ 261 d. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԼ 262 e. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈ Հ 262 f. *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ* 262 ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՆՆ ԱՅՈ a. ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՐ 262



Index of Legends	439
ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՆՆ ԱՑ <u>Է</u>	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	262
b. <i>ረቴሎበՒሆ ሶԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ</i> /	262
c. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ</i>	262
d. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ</i> Ր ՀԱ	262
<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻՒ</i> ՆՆ <i>ԱՑ</i>	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i> (262
<i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈՒ— <i>ԹԻՒՆ ԱՑ Է</i>	
a. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ	262
b. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	263
c. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ	263
d. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ</i> Լ	263
e. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ</i>	263
<i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈՒ— <i>ԹԻ</i> ՒՆ ԱՑ	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ</i>	263
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ</i>	263
c. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ</i>	263
<i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈՒ— <i>ԹԻ</i> ՆՆ ԱՑ Է	
a. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ	264
b. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՐ</i>	264
c. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	264
d. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ</i>	264
e. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ</i>	265
f. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ</i>	265
<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻ</i> ՆՆ ԱՑ	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ</i>	265
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՐ</i>	265
c. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	265
d. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ</i>	265
e. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ	266
f. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ	266



<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻՆ ԱՅ Է</i>	
a. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՐ	266
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	266
c. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ</i> '	267
d. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ</i>	267
e. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ</i> Լ	267
f. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ</i>	268
ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԻՆՆ ԱՑ <u>Լ</u>	
a. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑՐ	268
b. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	268
Star under lion—with cross	
<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԻՒ</i> ՆՆ ԱՑ Է	
a. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑ</i>	26 8
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ</i>	26 8
ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ— <i>ԹԻ</i> ՆՆ ԱՑ Է	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	268
<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻՆՆ ԱՑ</i>	
a. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ	26 8
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	269
c. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ	269
d. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ</i>	269
<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻՆ ԱՑ Է</i>	
a. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ	269
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> Ր ՀՆ	269
c. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ</i>	269
d. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ</i>	269
e. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ</i>	269
e. ՀԵՐՈՒՄ՝ ԻԱ ԳԱՒՈՐ	209



Index of Legends	441
ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—ԹԻՆ ԱՑ Է	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ</i>	269
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ Հ</i>	269 269
e. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ	269
<i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈ— <i>ԹԻ</i> Ն Ա Ց	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ</i>	270
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ</i>	270
<i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈՒ— <i>ԹԻ</i> Ն <i>ԱՑ</i>	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ</i>	270
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> Ր Հ Լ	270
c. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ</i>	270
d. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒ</i> Մ	270
<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—ՒԹԻՆ ԱՑ</i>	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ Հ</i>	27 0
b. <i>ՀԵԹ ԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ8</i>	270
Star under lion—no cross	
<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ I—ԹԻՆ ԱՑ Է</i>	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ</i>	270
<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—ԹԻ</i> Ն ԱՑ <u></u> ֈ	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ</i>	271
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ</i>	271
<i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈՒ— <i>ԹԻ</i> Ն ԱՑ	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ</i>	271
b. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ</i>	271
<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—ԹԻ</i> Ն ԱՑ	
a. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ</i>	271
b. <i>ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ</i>	271
•	•



ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—ՒԹԻՆ ԱՅ Է a. ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ 271 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—ՒԹԻՆ ԱՅ* a. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ 271 b. *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ* 272 No star and no cross ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻՆ ԱՅ Է a. ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ I 272 b. *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ* 272 c. *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ* 272 d. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈ 272 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻՆ ԱՅ* a. ՀԵԹՈՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱԼ 272 b. *ՀԵԹՈՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ* 272 c. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ 272 d. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ 272 e. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈ 273 ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—ԹԻՆ ԱՅ Է a. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈ 273 *ԿԱՐՈ*ՂՈ—*ԹԻ*Ն ԱՑ a. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ 273 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԻԹՒՆ ԱՅ* a. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ 273 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—ՒԹԻՆ ԱՅ* a. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ 273 b. *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈ* 273

Coinage of Cilician Armenia



442

Index of Legends	443
HALF TRAMS	
Cross with star—lion holding cross	
<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—ԻՒ</i> ՆՆ ԱՅ	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑՈ</i>	27 3
<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՆ ԱՑ Է</i>	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ8</i>	274
<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՒ</i> ՆՆ ԱՑ	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒ</i> Ր ՀԱՅՈ	274
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	274
Cross with dot—lion holding cross	
<i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> Ղ <i>ՈՒԹ—ԻՒ</i> ՆՆ ԱՅ Ե	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ</i>	274
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ</i>	274
<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹ—Ի</i> ՆՆ ԱՅ Է	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ</i>	274
<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՒՆ ԱՑ Է</i>	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	274
<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՆ ԱՅ Է</i>	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ</i>	275
b. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ8</i>	275
Cross with dot—lion walking	
ԿԱՐՈՂՈԹ—ԻՒՆՆ ԱՅ <u>Է</u>	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ</i>	275
<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈ-ԹԻ</i> ՆՆ ԱՑ <i>Է</i>	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ</i>	275



Coinage of Cilician Armenia 444 *ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—ԹԻՆ ԱՑ* a. *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ* 275 ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—IԹԻՆ ԱՅ a. ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ 275 Cross without dot—lion walking *ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—ԹԻՆ ԱՅ* a. LEPHNU PUNUM LUB 275 b. *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ* 275 c. *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ* 276 d. *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ*Ր 276 No cross—no star *ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—IԹԻՆ ԱՅ* a. *ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ* 276 ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—ԹԻՆ ԱՅ a. ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ 276 COPPER COINS - TANKS King seated on throne adorned with lions ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ ★ 276 b. *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ* 277 c. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍՍ 277 d. *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ* 277 e. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս 277 ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ։ a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ 277



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King seated on throne decorated with conventionalized lions

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

278, 280
277, 278, 279, 280
278, 279, 280
278, 279
278, 279
278
278
278
278
278
278
278
279
279
279
279

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ

a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i> ×	280
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	281
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ</i>	281
d. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս	281

King seated on throne having two legs on each side

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ

a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	281, 282
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i> ×	281
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍՍ</i>	281
d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ</i>	281, 282

ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ:

a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ 282



ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑ	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	282
b. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ ★	282
King seated on throne of one post on each side	
ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ8	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	283
b. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ •••	283
c. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ	283
ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑ:	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	283
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i> ×	283
KARDEZ	
King on horseback	
ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	283, 284
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ</i>	284
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍՍ</i>	284
ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ։	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	284
ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	284, 285
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i> :	285
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ</i>	284, 285
d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս</i>	285
ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	285, 286
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ</i>	285, 286
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍՍ</i>	285
d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս</i>	285



Index of Legends	447
ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	286
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ</i>	286
King seated on bench—like throne	
ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	286
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	286
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ</i>	286
d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս</i>	286
e. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Լ	287
f. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի</i>	287
ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Լ</i>	287
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի</i>	287
ՀԵ <i>ԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒ</i> Ր ՀԱՑ ^Մ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ</i>	287
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս</i>	287
<i>ረ</i> Ե <i>ԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> Ր ՀԱՑ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ</i>	287
<i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> Ր ՀԱ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս</i>	287
King seated on throne adorned with lions	
ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ	
a. ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի Ի Ս •Ս	288
ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	288
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻՍ</i>	288



448	Coinage of Cilician Armenia	
	c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ</i>	288
	d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍՍ</i>	288
	e. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս</i>	288
	f. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍՍ	288
	ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑ	
	a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս</i>	288
	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	288
	c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ</i>	289
	d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍՍ</i>	289
	e. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս</i>	289
	<i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ</i> Ա	
	a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	289
	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս</i>	289
	Errors, etc.	289
	LEVON II	
	TRAMS	
Hetour	n-Zabel design coins with LthNt inscription	
	ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ԹԻՆ ԱՅ Է	
	1.a.	290
	<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈ—ՒԹԻՆ ԱՑ</i>	
	ı.a. <i>ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ</i>	290
	b. <i>ԼեՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	290
	<i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒ—ՒԹԻՆ ԱՑ</i>	
	ı.a. <i>ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ</i>	290
Туріс	al Levon II design—Lion turned left	
	ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՑՆ ՀԱՑՍ	290
	ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻՍ Ի ՓԱՌՍ Ս	



Index of Legends	449
ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՑՆ ՀԱՑՈ	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	290, 291
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍՍ</i>	291
c. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս	291
d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔԻՆ Ի ՍԻՍ Ի</i>	291
e. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ Ի	291
ք. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍՆ Է	291
g. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ ԻՍ	292
<u> ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՑՆ ՀԱՑՍ</u>	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍԻ ՍԻ	292
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ Ի</i>	292
ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՅՆ ՀԱՅ ․.	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	292
<i>ԼԵՈ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՑՆ ՀԱՑՈ</i>	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	292
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍՈ</i>	292
c. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	292
<i>ԼԵՈ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՑՆ ՀԱՑ</i>	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	293
ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՅՆ ՀԱՑ	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	293, 294
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ Ի Ս</i>	293
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ Ի</i>	293
d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍՆ Է</i>	293
ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՒԱՑՆ ՀՍ I	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ ԻՍ	294
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ Ի</i>	294, 295
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	294, 295
d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ԻՍԻՍ ԻՍԻ</i>	295



	ՀԵՈՆ ԹԱԴԱՐՈՐ ԱՍ ԵՆԱՑՆ ՀՍ (*.Ս)		
	a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ ԻՍ</i>	295,	29 6
	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ Ի</i>	295,	296
	c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	295,	296
	d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍՍ</i>		296
	e. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ</i>		296
	<i>ኒեՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒԱՐ ՄԵՆԱՑՆ ՀՍ</i>		
	a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ Ի		296
	<i>ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՑՆ Հ</i>		
	a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ Ի</i>		297
	<i>լեՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՑ</i> Ն •.		
	a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ ԻՍԻ		297
	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ Ի</i>		297
	c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>		297
	d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ</i>		297
	<i>ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՑ</i> Ն		
	a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ Ի		297
	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ</i>		298
	c. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ		298
	<i>ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՑ</i>		
	a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>		298
	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ</i>		298
Transi	tion—mixed dies		
	ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՑՆ ՀԱՑ		
	a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>		298
	<i>ኒ</i> ԵՒՈՆ <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒՈ</i>		
	a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>		298
			,



Index of Legends	451
<i>ኒ</i> ԵՒՈՆ <i>ԹԱԳԱ</i> ՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍՍ</i>	299
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՍ</i>	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	299
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍՍ</i>	299
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍՍ</i>	299
Lion turned right	
<i>ኒ</i> Ե <i>ՒՈ</i> Ն <i>Թ</i> ԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒՈ8	
a., b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	299
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	300
c. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ ։	300
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒՈ</i>	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	300
<i>ኒ</i> ԵՒՈՆ <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ8</i>	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	300
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՍՑ</i>	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	301
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	301
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑԱ8</i>	
a. <i>ՇԻ</i> ՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	301
<i>ኒ</i> ቴ <i>ኑበ</i> ኄ <i>Թ</i> ህዓԱ <i>ՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ</i>	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	301, 302
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	301, 302
<i>ኒ</i> եՒՈՆ <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՍ</i>	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ Ի	302, 303
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	302, 303, 304
29 [•]	



452	Coinage of Cilician Armenia	
	d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	303
	e. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻՍ Ի</i>	304
	f. <i>ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	304
	HALF TRAMS	
Ų	ԵՈՆԻ <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ</i>	
	ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ	304
Ų	ԵՒՈՆԻ Թ ԱԳԱՒՈՐ	
	Uncertain	304
Struck wi	th tram dies	304
	COPPER COINS - KARDEZ	
	[Obv. Lion—Rev. Cross]	
<u> U</u>	ԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑՍ	
	a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	307
Ų	ԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ I	
	a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ	307
	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս</i>	307
<u>L</u> l	ታሉበ Ն ԹԱԳԱՒ ՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ	
	a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	308
	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ</i>	308
	c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս</i>	308
Ų	ԵՈՆ <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ</i> Ց	
	a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս</i>	308
<u>L</u> l	ԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՍՍ	
	a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	308



Index of Legends	453
<i>ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՒՈ</i>	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	308
ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՍ I	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս</i>	309
ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑ (Ս	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի U	309
<u> ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՍ</u>	
a. ՇሶኒԵԱԼ ሶ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ሶ ሀሶ	309
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս</i>	309
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ</i>	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի</i>	309
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՍԻՍ</i>	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	310
<u> ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՍ I</u>	
a.	310
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՍ</i>	
a. Uncertain	310
<u> </u>	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս	310
<i>ኒ</i> Ե <i>Ո</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ</i> /	
a. Uncertain	310
<i>ኒ</i> ቴብኄ <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ</i> Ց (?)	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս</i>	310



Coinage of Cilician Armenia

[Obv. Cross—Rev. Lion]	v. Lion]	ss— <i>Rev</i> .	Cross	Obv.	
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<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ8</i>	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	311
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ</i>	311
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՐ</i> ՀԱՈ8	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ</i>	311
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ</i>	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ</i>	311
<i>ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՍ</i> (?)	
a. Uncertain	311
ԼԷՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐԻ ՀԱՈՑ	
a. <i>ረԱՏԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	311
<i>ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՈ8</i>	
a. <i>ረԱՏԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	312
ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՐ ՀԱՈՑ	
a. ՀԱՏԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ	312
Rare types	
ԼՆԵՈ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՍ	
a. <i>ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳ․․․ ՀԱ․</i> ․․	312
<i>ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ</i> /	
a. <i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ8</i>	312, 313
ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս	
a ጊዜዎኒ ሶ ሀሶ	312, 313
Lion turned right	
· ·	
ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ	

a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ



Index of Legends	455
HETOUM II	
BILLONS.	314, 315
COPPER COINS - KARDEZ	
King's head	
ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	315, 317, 319, 320
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍՍ</i>	315, 318
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ</i>	318
ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ:	
a. <i>ՇԻ</i> ՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	316, 318
b. Uncertain	316, 320
ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	316, 318, 319, 320
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍՍ</i>	316
c. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ	316, 318, 320
ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑ:	
a. <i>ՇԻ</i> ՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	316, 319
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍՍ</i>	316
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս</i>	319
ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	317, 320
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻ</i>	317
ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	317
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի Ս</i>	317
c. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍԻ (?)	317
d. Uncertain	320
King seated	
ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ Ի ՍԻ</i>	321
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ Ի Ս</i>	321



Coinage of Cilician Armenia ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ• a. ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ Ի ՍԻ 321 ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ a. ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ Ի Ս 321 ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ a. ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ Ի Ս 321 b. *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ Ս* 324 c. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ 323 d. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՍԻՍ 324 ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒ a. ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ Ի 321 b. Շ*ԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ* 323 c. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՍԻՍ ԳԱՂ 324 d. *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՍԻՍ ԳԱ* 324 e. *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՍԻՍ Գ* 324 ք. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՍԻՍ 324 ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱ՝ a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՍԻՍ 322 b. *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱ* ′ 325 ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱ a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՍԻՍ ԳԱՂ 324 b. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՍԻՍ ԳԱ 322, 324 c. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՍԻՍ ԳԼ 322 d. *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՍԻՍ Գ* 322, 324 e. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՍԻՍ 322 f. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱՂԳ 322 g. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ 323 h. *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՍԻՍԻ* 322 i. ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՍԻՍ 322 j. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՈՐ 323 k. *ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳՐ*Ր 325 1. ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱ 325



Index of Legends	457
ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳՆ	
a. <i>ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳ</i>	322, 325
ረԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	323
b. Uncertain	323
<i>ረ</i> Ե <i>ԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳՐ</i>	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ	323
SMPAD	
[Levon I Tram Type]	
ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ	
a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ b. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ	325 326
ט. אנגו וו בווויף ויט נטטוויט	326
ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ	
a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲ</i> Ն ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ Ց	326
ሀሆኖԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ	
a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈ	326
b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈԾ</i>	326
<i>ሀሆ FUS ԹԱԳՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	
a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ</i>	326
[King with cross in right hand and mace extending over le	ft shoulder]
ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ	
a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈՅ	326
b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ</i> ԾՈ	326



Coinage of Cilician Armenia 458 ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՈՑ a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ 326 ሀሆፑԱՏ ԹԱԳԱԻՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ 327 b. *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ* 327 c. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ 327 d. *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ* 327 e. *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ* 327 f. *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏԼ* 327 *ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ* a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ 327 ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ 327 b. *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ*Ծ 327 c. *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ* 327 a. *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ* 328 a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ 328 b. *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ* 328 UU FUS PUAM ZUB a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ 328 b. *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ* 328 HALF TRAM ሀሆፑԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ Uncertain 328



Index of Legends	459
COPPER COINS - KARDEZ	
<i>ሀሆ ዩ</i> ሁኔ <i>₱</i> ሁዓሁኑበቦ ረሀ୫በ	
a.	328
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ</i>	328
ሀፑԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի ՍԻ</i>	329
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ս</i>	329
<i>ህሆ</i>	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍՍ</i>	32 9
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ս</i>	329
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ</i>	329
<i>ሀሆ</i>	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ I</i>	329
ሀሆኖԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍՍ</i>	329
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ</i>	329
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ</i>	329
<i>ሀሆ</i>	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ս</i>	330
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ</i>	330
ሀሆ የሀን የሀን ሀኑም ረሀ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ</i>	330
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի ՍԻI</i>	330
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ1</i>	330
d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՄԻ</i>	330
e. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի Ս</i>	330



Coinage of Cilician Armenia

UU'FUS MUHUMI' Z	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍՍ</i>	330
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի Ս</i>	330
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ Ս</i>	330
d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի Լ</i>	330
ሀሆ ዩԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ</i>	331
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ Լ</i>	331
ሀሆ የ	
a. Uncertain	331
ሀፑԱՏ ԹԱԳՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ	
a. ՇሶኒԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի ՍԻՍ	331
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ</i>	331
c. <i>Շኮ</i> ՆԵԼ <i>ኮ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ</i>	331
d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ Ս</i>	331
ሀሆኖԱՏ ԹԱԳՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ</i>	331
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ</i>	331
ሀሆኖԱՏ ԹԱԳՈՐ ՀԱ	
a. ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ	332
ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ</i>	332
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	332
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ Ս</i>	332
ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳՐ ՀԱՅՈ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ</i>	332
b <i>Շինել ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի</i>	332



Index of Legends	461
UU FUS PUM ZUB	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ</i>	332
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ</i>	332
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ Ս</i>	333
ሀሆ የሀՏ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ</i>	333
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ Ս</i>	333
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ I</i>	333
ሀሆ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ I</i>	333
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ</i>	333
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ Ս</i>	333
UU FUS PUAT 21	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ս</i>	333
ሀሆኖԱՏ ԹԱԳՐՐ Հ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ</i>	334
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ</i>	334
ሀፑԱՏ ԹԱԳՐ Հ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ Ս I</i>	334
Rarity. Obv. & FLEL FULUF UF	334
Rev. ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ	334
GOSDANTIN I	
TRAMS	
ԿՈՍՏԱՆԴԻԱՆՈ <i>Ն</i> ԹԱ ୩ Ր ՀԱՑ	
a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՑ Է ԹԱԳՐ</i> Ր	334



Coinage of Cilician Armenia 462 *ԿՈՍՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳԱԼՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ*º a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՑ Է ԹԱԳՐ 334 ԿՈՍՏԱՆԴԻԱՆՈ ԹԱԳՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՑ Է ԹԱԳՐՐ 335 ԿՈՍՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳՐՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՑ Է ԹԱԳՐ 335 b. *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՑ Է ԹԱԳՈՐ* 335 c. ԿԱՐՈՂԹԻՆ ԱՑ Է ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ 335 ԿՈՍՏԱՆԴԻԱՆՈՆ ԹԱԳՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ a. ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՑ Է ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ 335 COPPER COINS - KARDEZ ԿՈՍՏԱՆԴԻԱՆՈՍ ԹԱԳՐՐ a. ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ 335 b. *ՇԻՆԵԼ ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻՍ* 336 ԿՈՍՏԱՆԴԻԱՆՈՆ ԹԱԳ a. ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ Է 336 b. *ՇԻՆԵԼ ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻՍ Է* 336 ԿՈՍՏԱՆԴԻԱՆՈԼ ԹԱԳՈ a. ՇԻՆԵԼ ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻՍ Է 336 LEVON III **TAKVORIN** ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ Է 336, 337, 338 b. *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻԱ* 337 c. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ 337 d. ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ 338, 339



Index of Legends	463
e. ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի ՍԻՍ	339
ք. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ</i>	339
g. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	338
h. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	339
i. Շ <i>ԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ ՍԻՍ</i>	339
j. <i>ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	339
k. <i>ՇԻ</i> ՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ሁሀ	337
1. <i>ՇԻ</i> ՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ	338
m. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս I</i>	337
n. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս</i>	337, 338
o. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ሁ</i>	337, 338
ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ Է	341
b. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	340
c. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	340
d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ</i>	340, 341
e. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ሁՍ</i>	340
f. <i>ՇԻ</i> ՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻ	340, 341
g. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ	340
h. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ሁ</i>	340
i. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍՍ</i>	341
j. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ԳԱՂԳՆ ՍՍ</i>	341
k. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ሁ</i>	340
ԼԵՈՆ <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ</i>	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	339
<i>ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՈ8</i>	
a. ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	341, 342
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ</i>	341
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍՍ</i>	341
d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ</i>	342
<u> ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՈՑ</u>	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	342
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻՍ Է</i>	342



464	Coinage of Cilician Armenia	
	c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻՍ</i>	342
	d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻ</i>	342
	ԼԵՒՈՆ <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ</i> °	
	a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ</i>	342
	ԼԵՒՈՆ <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ</i> Ր	
	a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ</i>	343
	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ሁՍ</i>	343
	c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ</i>	343
	d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս</i>	343
	ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ	
	a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	343
	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ ၂</i>	344
	c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ Է</i>	343
	d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻՍ</i>	344
	e. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻ</i>	344
	f. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ሁ</i>	344
	g. Շ <i>ԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ս</i>	344
	h. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի ՍՍ</i>	344
	i. ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի ՍԻ	344
	j. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ Ս</i>	344
	k. <i>ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ</i>	345
	ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑ '	
	a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻՍ</i>	345
	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ሁՍ</i>	345
	c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ሁՍ</i>	345
	d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ሁ</i>	345
	e. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ս</i>	345
	<u> ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</u>	
	a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ሁՍ</i>	345
	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ</i>	345



Index of Legends	465
<i>ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ</i>	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	346
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ</i>	346
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻ</i>	346
d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ</i>	346
e. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս</i>	346
<i>ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ</i>	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ</i>	346
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՈ</i>	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ Է</i>	346
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	347
Rarities—errors	
<u> </u>	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	347
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՈ8</i>	
a. ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ	347
<u> ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ</u> լՑ	
a. <i>ՀԱՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	347
COPPER COINS - KARDEZ	
<u> </u>	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ</i>	350
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ</i>	350
<i>ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ</i>	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ Ն	347, 34 ⁸
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ</i>	347, 34 ⁸
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱ</i>	347
d. <i>ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ</i>	351



<i>ኒ</i> ቴኑ <i>ቦኄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ</i>	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ</i>	34
b. <i>ՇኮኒեԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱ</i> '	34
c. <i>ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ</i>	35
<i>ኒ</i> ԵՒՈՆ <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ</i>	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ</i>	348, 34
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱ</i> ․․․	35
c. <i>ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	35
d. <i>ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ</i>	352, 35
e. <i>ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ</i>	35
<i>ኒ</i> ԵՒՈՆ <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈ</i>	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ Ս</i> (?)	34
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱ</i> ․․․	35
<u> </u>	34
<i>ኒ</i> ԵՒՈՆ <i>ԹԱԳԱՒ</i> Ր	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ</i>	34
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԻ</i>	349
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂ</i>	349
d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱՆ</i>	349
e. <i>ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ</i>	35.
<i>ԼԵՒՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ</i>	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ Ի Ս</i>	34
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱ</i>	35
<i>ኒ</i> ԵՒՆ <i>ԹԱԳԱ</i> Ւ (?)	
<i>ኒԵՒՆ ԹԱԳԱՒ (?)</i> a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ</i>	35 ⁰



Index of Legends	467
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒ</i> ′	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի	350
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱ</i>	350
c. ՇԻՆԵԼ	350
<i>ኒ</i> ԵՒՈՆ <i>ԹԱԳԱ I</i>	
a. ՇԻՆԵԼ	351
OSHIN	
TAKVORINS	
Coronation trams	
ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ	
a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՑՈ</i>	353
b. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱԾՈՑ</i>	354
c. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՑ Է</i>	354
d. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏI</i>	354
e. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ</i>	354
f. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲ</i> Ն ԱԾՈ	354
ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ	
a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱԾՈՅ</i>	354
<u> </u>	
a. <i>ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ Ա</i> ԾՈ	355
Takvorins	
ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈՑ	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ Է	355
b. <i>ՇԻՆԱԾ Է Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ</i>	355 355
c. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ	355 355
30°	000



ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ</i>	355
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ</i>	355
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ሁሀ</i>	355
d. ? <i>ኮ የሀጊሀየ ሀኮ</i>	356
e. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ</i>	356
ք. <i>ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ</i>	355, 356
g. ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	356
h. <i>ՇԻՆI Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ</i>	356
ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒ ՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ°	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ</i>	356
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ሁሀ</i>	356
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ</i>	356
d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ Ի</i>	356
e. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ</i>	356
ԱՒՇ <i>Ի</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՈ</i>	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻՍ Է</i>	358
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ</i>	357
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Մ</i>	357
d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ</i>	357
e. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ <i>ሁՍ</i>	357

35/ f. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ 356 g. *ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍԻ* 357, 358 h. *ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ* 357, 358, 359 357, 358, 359 i. ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ 358, 359, 360 i. ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս k. *ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի* 359 1. ՇԻՆԱԾ Է Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ 357 m. ՇԻՆԱԾ Է Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ 358 n. *ՇԻՆԱԾ Է Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ሁ* 357 o. ՇԻՆԱԾ Է Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ 358 p. ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ 358, 359 զ. *ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ* 359 r. *ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍՍ* 359

Index of Legends		469
s. <i>ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻՍ</i>		359
t. <i>ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍՍ</i>		358
u. <i>ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ ՍԻ</i>		3 5 9
v. ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ		359
w. ՇԻԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ		357
ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՐ		
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ		36 1
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ሁ</i>		360
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ</i>		360
d. <i>ՇԻՆԱԾ Է Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ</i>		<u>3</u> 60
e. <i>ՇԻՆԱԾ Է Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ</i>		<u>3</u> 60
f. <i>ՇԻՆԱԾ Է Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍՍԻ</i>		361
g. ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ		360, 361
h. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ሁՍ</i>		360
i. <i>ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ</i>		36 0
j. <i>ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Մ</i>		361
ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ /		
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ</i>		361
<i>ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>		
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս		363
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ</i>		362
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ</i>		362
d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս</i>		362, 363
e. ՇԻՆԱԾ Է Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ		362
f. ՇԻՆԱԾ Է Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՐ		362
g. ՇԻՆԱԾ Է Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ		362
h. <i>ՇԻՆԱԾ Է Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ሁ</i>		362
i. ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ		361
j. ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ	361, 362,	•
k. ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Մ		362, 364
1. <i>ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս</i>		363
m. <i>ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ</i>		361, 363



470	Coinage of Cilician Armenia	
	n. <i>ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ</i>	363
	o. ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ	362
	p. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ሁՍ</i>	362
	q. <i>ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ</i>	362
<i>ԱՒ</i>	<i>ՇԻՆ </i>	
	a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ</i>	364
	b. <i>ՇሶՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս</i>	364
	c. <i>ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ</i>	364
	d. <i>ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍՍ</i>	364
Oshin Tak	vorins with Arabic surcharge	368
	COPPER COINS - POGHS	
<i>ԱԻ</i>	ዮራ ነት ነው የተመሰው	
	a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ	365
<i>ԱՒ</i>	<i>ՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	
	a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ս</i>	367
	b. <i>ՇԻՆԱ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի</i>	367
<i>ሁ.</i> Ի	<i>ՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ</i>	
	a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ሁ</i>	365
	b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ Ս</i>	365
	c. <i>ՇԻՆԱԾ Է Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ</i> (?)	365
	d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի</i>	367
	e. <i>ՇԻՆԱ Է Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ</i>	367
<i>ԱՒ</i>	ው የመንፈትም (?) <i>ረነ</i>	
	a	366
<i>ԱՒ</i>	<i>ՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ</i>	
	a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ ሁ</i>	367
	b. <i>ՇԻՆԱԾ Է Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ</i>	366
	c. <i>ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի</i>	368



Index of Legends	471
ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒ Ր	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԱԾ Է ՔԱՂԱՔ Ս</i> b. <i>ՇԻՆԱԾ Է ՔԱՂ ՍՍ</i>	366 366
LEVON IV	
TAKVORINS	
ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑՒՈՑ	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ	368
<i>ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ8</i>	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս</i>	368
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈ</i> Ր ՀԱՑՈՑ	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ b. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ c. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս d. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ e. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍՍ f. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս g. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ h. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ԲԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս	368, 369 368 369, 370, 372 368, 370, 372 368 370 368, 369 369
ጊԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ b. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս c. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ d. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Մ e. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս f. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ g. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍՍ h. ՇԻՆԱՇ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ	371 370, 371, 372, 373 370, 371 372 373 370 372 373



Coinage of Cilician Armenia 472 *ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ 374 b. *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս* 373 c. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս 373, 374 d. *ՇԻՆԱԾ Ի* 374 Lion turned left 374 COPPER COINS - POGHS ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ a. Uncertain 374 *լեՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ* a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ 377 *լեՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅ* a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի ՍԻ 378 b. *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի* 378 c. *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ* 378 *ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ* a. Uncertain 378 *ጊ*ይሉበኒ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ Հ* a. Thibl h fuluf 375, 377 b. *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ* 375 c. *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ* 378 d. *ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ* 380 *ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ* a. **ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի** 378 b. *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ս* 375 *ኒ*ԵՒՈՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՄ ՀԱՑՈՑ* a. Uncertain 378



Index of Legends	473
<i>ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ</i>	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	379
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍՍ</i>	379
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս</i>	379
d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	375
e. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ Ի ՍԻ</i>	375
f. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ</i>	376
g. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ </i>	376
h. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ</i>	
ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս</i>	379
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ</i>	377
c. ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ	377
d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի ՍԻ</i>	376
e. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս</i>	377
<i>ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ</i>	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻ</i>	376
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ</i>	376
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ</i>	377, 379
d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱ </i>	377
ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ	
a. ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ	377
b. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ (?)	377
ԼԵՒՈՆ <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՌ</i>Ր (?)	
a. ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ	376
b. Uncertain	380
ԼԵՒՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈ	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍՍ	380
<i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱ</i> Ղ	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱጊԱՔ Ի</i>	380
Levon IV Takvorins with Arabic surcharge	380



GUY

TAKVORINS

<i>ԿԻ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ8</i>	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ</i>	380
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	380
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ</i>	381
d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս</i>	381
e. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս</i> (?)	381
ք. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ</i>	381
<i>ԿԻ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՑՈ8</i>	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ	381
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ</i>	381
c. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍՍ</i>	381
d. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս</i>	381
<i>ԿԻ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ</i>	
a. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ</i>	381
ԿԻ ԹԱԳԱԽՐ ՀԱՅՈ	
a. ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ	382
b. <i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ</i>	382
COPPER COINS - POGHS	
<i>ԿԻ ԹԱԳԱՒ</i> Ր ՀԱՅՈ	
ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ	382

GOSDANTIN III

TAKVORINS

Struck in Tarsus

*ԿՈՍՏԱՆጉԻՆ ԹԱԳՐ*Ր

ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՆ ՏԱ



Index of Legends	475
ԿՈՍՏԱՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳՈ	
THUL PUL. SUP	382
ԿՈՍՏԱԴԻՆ <i>ԹԱԳՈ</i>	
ՇԻՆԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ SP	382
<i>ԿበՍՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԱԳՈ</i>	
THUL SUP	383
<i>ԿበՍՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳ</i>	
ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ SU <i>Ր</i>	383
<i>ԿበՍՏԸՆԴ</i> Ն	
ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՏՐ	383
<i>ԿበՍՏՆԴԻՆ ԹԱ</i>	
ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՏԱՐ	383
<i>ԿበՍՏ</i> Նጉ <i>Ի</i> Ն Թበ	
<i>ՇԻՆԱԼ ՔԱՂ ՏԱՐ</i>	383
<i>ԿՈՍՏՆԻՆ ԹԱԳՈ</i>	
<i>ՇԻՆԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՏԱ</i>	383
<i>Կበሀጉ</i> ኒ <i>ኮ</i> ኒ <i>ԹԱԳበ</i>	
<i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՏԱ</i>	384
<i>Կበሀጉኒኮ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳ 8</i>	
ՇԻՆԱ(?) <i>ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՏԱՐՍՈ</i>	383
Struck in Sis	
<i>ԿՈՍՏԱՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳ ՀՒՑ</i>	
ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ	384
<i>ԿՈՍՏԱՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳ </i>	
ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՐ	384
<i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ</i>	384
<i>ՇԻՆԵԱ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ</i>	384



ԿበՍՏԱՆԴԻՆ ԹԳ ՀՅՈ8 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՐ 384 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ 384 *ԿበՍՏԱՆጉԻՆ ԹԳ Հበ8* ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ 384 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի 384 *ԿበՍՏԱՆጉԻՆ ԹԳ ՀԻ8* ՇԻՆԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ 385 *ԿበՍՏԱՆጉԻՆ ԹԳ I* ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ Ի 385 *ՇԻՆԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻԼ* 385 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ 385 *ԿበՍՏԱՆԴԻՆ ԹԳ 8 ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ* 385 *ԿበՍՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԱԳ Հ* Uncertain 385 ԿՈՍՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳԱ *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ* (?) 385 *ԿበՍՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԱԳՐ*Ր ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ 386 *ԿበՍՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԱԳ* ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍՍ 386 *ԿበՍՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԳԱ* ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ 386 *ԿበՍՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԳՐ*Ր ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի 386

Coinage of Cilician Armenia



Index of Legends	477
<i>ԿበՍՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԳ ՀԱՅՈ8</i> (?)	
<i>ՇԻՆԵԱ</i> Լ <i>ՔԱ</i> ՂԱՔՆ <i>ՍԻ</i>	386
<i>ԿՈՍ</i> ՏሮՆጉ <i>Ի</i> Ն Թ <i>ረ</i> ՅበՑ	
<i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ</i>	386
<i>Կበሀ</i> ያ ሮኒጉኮኒ <i>ԹԳ Հ</i> ՅՈ (?)	
<i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս</i>	386
<i>ԿበՍ</i> ՏሮՆጉԻՆ <i>ԹԳ ՀՑ</i>	
<i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ</i>	387
<i>ԿበՍ</i> ՏሮՆጉԻՆ ԹԳ ՀԱ	
<i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս</i> (?)	387
<i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի</i>	387
ՇԻՆԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ	387
<i>ԿበՍ</i> ՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԳ Ի	
Uncertain	387
<i>ԿበՍՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԳ Հ</i>	
ՇԻՆԱԼ (?) <i>ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս</i>	387
<i>ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ</i>	387
<i>ԿበՍՏԴՆԻՆ ԹԱԳ ՀI</i>	
<i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ 1</i>	387
<i>ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի Ս</i>	388
<i>ԿበՍ</i> ՏሮՆԴՆ <i>ԹԳ</i> Ր Հ8	
<i>ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս</i>	388
<i>Կበሀ</i> ያሮኒጉኒ <i>ԹԳՐ</i> ረ	
<i>ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ս</i>	388



Coinage of Cilician Armenia 478 *ԿበՍՏԸՆԴՆ ԹԱԳՈ* 388 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի *ԿበՍՏՆԴՆ ԹԳ Հ8 ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ս* 388 *ՇԻՆԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ* 388 *ԿበՍՏጉԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ* ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Լ 388 *Կበ*ՏርՆጉԻՆ ԹԳՈՐ ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս Ի 389 *Կበ*ያርኒጉኮኒ *Թ*Գበ *ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂՔ ՍԻ* (?) 389 *ԿՈՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԱԳ* ՇԻՆԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ Ս 389 *Կበ*ያርኒጉኮኒ *Թ*Գ ረፀ ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ 389 ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ 389 *Կበ*ያርኒጉኮኒ *Թ*Գ **ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ** 389 *ՇԻՆԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի* (?) 389 *ԿበՏՆጉԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ*

ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ

*Կበ*ՏՆԴԻՆ *ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ*



389

Index of Legends	479
<i>ԿበՏՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՄԻ Հ8</i>	
ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ/	390
ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս	390
ԿՏ ሮՆጉԻՆ <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՄ</i> Ր Հ 8 (?)	
<i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ Ի</i> (?)	390
<i>Կ</i> ՏርՆጉԻՆ <i>ԹԳ ՀԱՑՈ8</i>	
ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՐ	390
ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ	390
<i>ԿՏԸՆԴԻ</i> Ն ረበ8	
Uncertain	390
<i>Կበ</i> ՏሮՆԴՆ <i>ԹԳ ՀԱՑՈ8</i>	
<i>ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս</i>	390
<i>Կበ</i> ՏሮՆԴՆ <i>ԹԳ Հ</i> ႘ (?)	
<i>ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ</i> (?)	391
<i>ԿՈՏՆԴՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ</i>	
<i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ</i>	391
<i>ԿՈՏՆԴՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀՑ</i>	
ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ (?)	391
ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂՔՆ ՍԻ	391
	391
<i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ</i>	391
<i>ԿበՏՆԴՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ</i> Ր Հ(?)	
	391
Շ <i>ԻՆԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ</i>	391
<i>ՇԻ</i> ՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ <i>Ս</i>	391



ԿበՏՆԴՆ ԹԱԳ ՀՑ ՇԻՆԵԱ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի ՍԻ **391** *ԿበՏՆԴՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ* (?) **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻ** 392 *ԿՈՏԴՆ ԹԳ ՀԱՅՈՑ* ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս 392 *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ* (?) 392 *Կበሀር*ኒጉኒ *ԹԳՐ* ረ8 ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ 392 *ԿበՍՏጉ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅ* ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ 392 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ 392 *ԿበՍՏ(ԸՆԴ?)ԻՆ ՀԱՅՈՑ* ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ 392 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ 392 *ԿበՍՏԴՆ ԹԱԳ ՀԱՅ* ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔ Ի ՍԻ 393 *ԿՏԸԴՆ ԹԳ ՀԱՅՈՑ* ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ 393 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս 393 ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ ՇԻՆ... ՔԱՂԱՔ U 393

Coinage of Cilician Armenia



Index of Legends	481
COPPER COINS - POGHS	
Struck in Tarsus	
<i>ԿՈՍՏԱՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳ</i>	
<i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂ ՏԱ</i> Ր	393
Struck in Sis	
<i>ԿՈՍՏԱՆጉԻՆ ԹԳ ՀԱՑՈՑ</i>	
<i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ</i>	393
<i>ԿበՍՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԳ Հ</i>	
<i>ՇԻՆԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս</i>	394
<i>Կበሀ</i> Տ ሮՆጉ <i>ኮ</i> Ն <i>Թ</i> Գ	
ՔԱՂԱՔՆ	394
<i>Կ</i> ՏሮՆԴ <i>Ի</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ</i>	
Uncertain	394
<i>ԿՏԸԴԻՆ ԹԳՐՐ Հ</i>	
<i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս</i>	394
<i>ԿበՏՆԴ</i> Ն (?) <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՄ</i> Հ	
<i>ՇԻ</i> ՆԵԱԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ <i>Ս</i>	394
4NUSC	
Uncertain	394
<i>ዛበህ</i>	
<i>ՇԻ</i> Ն	395
•	



3 **I**

LEVON THE USURPER

TAKVORINS

<i>ኒ</i> ቴՎ <i>በ</i> ኄ	<i>ԹԱԳԱՒՄ</i> Ր ՀԱՑՈ8	
	ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	395
	ՇԻՆԵԱԼ <i>Ի Ք</i> ԱՂԱՔՆ <i>Ի ՍԻ</i>	395
	<i>ՇԻՆԵԱ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ</i>	395
	ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս	396
<i>ኒ</i> ቴՎበՆ	<i>ԹԱԳԱՆՈՐ ՀԱՑՈ</i>	
	<i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ</i>	396
	Շ <i>Ի</i> ՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս	396
<i>ኒ</i> ቴՎበՆ /	<i></i>	
	Շ <i>Ի</i> ՆԵԱ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ	396
<i>ኒ</i> ቴՎበՆ	PUPUM 2U8	
	<i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	396
	<i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ</i>	396, 397
	<i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս</i>	396, 397
	<i>ՇԻ</i> ՆԵԱԼ <i>Ի Ք</i> ԱՂԱՔՆ Ի I	397
	<i>ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս</i>	397
	ՇԻՆԵԱ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի	397
<i>ኒ</i> ቴՎበՆ	<i></i>	
	<i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	397
	<i>ՇԻ</i> ՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ	397
	<i>ՇԻ</i> ՆԵԱ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս	397
	ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս	397
<i>ԼԵՎՈ</i> Ն <i>և</i>	<i>ԹԱԳԱՒՄՐ ՀԱ</i>	
	<i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	397
	<i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ</i>	397
	<i>ՇԻ</i> ՆԵԱ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս	397
	<i>ՇԻ</i> ՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ	398
	<i>ՇԻ</i> ՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս	396



Index of Legends	483
ԼԵՎՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ Հ I	
ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ	398 398
Obverse inscription on both sides	
<i>ԼԵՎՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՑ</i>	
<u> </u>	398
<i>ԼԵՎՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ</i> ՀԱ <i>I</i>	
ԼԵՎՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱ (?)	398 398
COPPER COINS - POGHS	
<i>Լ</i> ԵՎ <i>Ո</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳ․․․․</i> [ՀԱՑՈ Ց]	
<i>ՇԻՆ․․․ .ԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ</i>	398
<i>ԼԵՎՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՐ</i> ՀԱՈ	
ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ዓԱ ሀԻሀ (?)	399
<i>ԼԵՎՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> (?) <i>Հ</i> Ա	
Uncertain	399
<i>ኒ</i> ьՎ <i>በ</i> ኄ	
<i>ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱ</i> Ղ	399
GOSDANTIN IV	
TAKVORINS	
ካበሀ Տ ԱՆԴՆ <i>Թ</i> ረበ8	
ሪኮኒህኒ ኮ የ ሀ	399
3x*	2,7



484 Coinage of Cilician Armenia *ԿበՍՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՄ* (?) *በ8* ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ 399 ԿበሀѕԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՐ ՀՈՑ ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ 400 ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ 400 *ԿՈՍՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՐ Հ8* **ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍՍ** (?) 400 ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ 400 *Կበሀ*ያርኒጉሶኒ (?) *ԹԱԳԱՐ Հ* ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ 400 ԿበሀՏሮՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳՐՐ ՀՈՑ ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ 400 ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ 400 ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ 400 *ԿበՍՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԱԳ Հ8* ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ 400 *ԿበՍՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹՐՐ Հ8* ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔՂՔՆ ՍԻՍ 401 *ԿበՍՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԳ Հ8* ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ... **401** ԿՈՍՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՐ ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ **40I** *ԿበՍՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԱԳՐ*Ր ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ 401



Index of Legends	485
<i>ԿՈՍՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳ</i>	
<i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱ</i>	401
<i>ԿበՍ</i> ՏሮՆԴՆ <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՐ</i> Ր ՀՈ8	
<i>ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	401
<i>ԿՈՍՏԸՆԴՆ ԹԱԳԱՐՐ ՀՈ8</i>	
ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	401
<i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	402
<i>ԿՈՍՏԸՆԴՆ ԹԱԳԱՐ Հ8</i>	
<i>ՇԻ</i> ՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	402
<i>ԿበՍՏԸՆԴՆ ԹԱԳԱՐՐ Հ</i>	
<i>ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	402
<i>ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ</i> (?)	402
<i>ՇԻՆԱ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ</i> (?)	402
<i>ԿበՍՏԸՆԴՆ ԹԱԳՐՐ Հበ8</i>	
<i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	402
<i>ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	402
<i>ԿበՍ</i> ՏԸՆԴՆ <i>ԹԱԳՐ</i> Ր ՀՑ	
<i>ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	402
<i>ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	402
<i>ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻ</i>	402
<i>ԿበՍՏԸՆԴՆ </i>	
<i>ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ</i>	403
<i>ՇԻ</i> ՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	403
<i>ԿበՍՏԸՆԴՆ ԹԱԳՈՐ</i>	
Uncertain	403



Coinage of Cilician Armenia 486 ԿበሀՏԸՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ *ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ* 403 ԿበሀበՏርՆԴՆ ԹԱԳՐ Հበ8 *ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ* (?) 403 *ԿՈՏԱՆԴԻՆ* (?) *ԹԱԳՐ Է* ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ 403 *ԿՈՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՐ ՀՑ* ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ 403 *Կበ*ያርኒጉ*ኮ*ኒ *ԹԱԳՐ* ረ8 ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ 403 *ԿՈ*ՏԸՆԴԻՆ *ԹԱԳ ՀՈ8* ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ 404 *ԿՈՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳ Հ8* ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ 404 *ԿՈ*ՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐՐ ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ 404 *ԿՈՏԸՆጉԻՆ ԹԱԳՐ*Ր ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ 404 *ԿበՏՆጉԻՆ ԹԱԳՐՐ ՀԱ* (?) ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ 404 *ԿՈ*ՏሮՆԴՆ ԹԱԳ ՀՈՑ Է ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ 404 ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ ՍԻՍ 404



4 05
405
405
405
4 ⁰ 5
406
406
406
406
400
406
406
406



Obv. ԿበՍՏՂՆԴԻ	
Rev. ՇԻՆ ዓኒ ሀኮሀ	406
Obv. ԿበՍՏ 	
Rev. & FUUL UFUU(?)	406
Obv. ԿበՍՏ ԱԳՐ Հ 8	
Rev. THUL	406
Takvorin type with letter P	
Obv. ԿՈՏ ሆኔ	
Rev. THULUSL	407
Obv. ԿበՍՏԱՆԴԻՆ (?)	
Rev. & PULL P PUL	407
POST ROUPENIAN	410
<i>Obv. ԿՏԱՐՆԴԻ</i> Ն [Հበ, ՀԱՑՈՑ]	
Rev. & FULL LUF U	407
<i>Obv. ԿበՏ</i> ኒንኒ	
Rev. & FULL F FULUFU UF	407
Obv. 4SLG	
Rev. & FULL QUFL UFU	407
Obv. 48 LIL [2	
Rev. & h	407
Obv. Կበሀሆኒጉ (?) <i>ԹԱԳՐ</i> Հ8	
Rev. ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ	407
Obv. 48 L PUPUM 2	
Rev. Thul h	408
Obv. 48U&F	
Rev. & MUL AUL	408



Index of Legends	489
<i>Obv. ԿՈՍՏԱՆԳԻՆ ԹԱԳՈ</i> Ր (?)	
Rev. THULL I SULU UNU	408
Takvorin type with letter v on reverse	
Obv. ԿበሀርናՆ ረበ8 	408
LEVON V	
BILLONS	
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳ</i>	
ԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ8	408
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ</i>	
<i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈՒ <i>Թ۴</i> Ն ԱՍ	409
<i>ԿԱՐՈ</i> ՂՈՒ <i>Թ</i> Բ	408
<i>ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈ</i> Ր	
ԱՄԵՆԱՑՆ ՀԱՑ	409
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱ</i> Ւ	
<i>ካ</i> ፈ <i>Րበ</i> ጊ <i>በ</i> Ւ <i>ԹF</i>	409
COPPER COINS - POGHS	
<i>ኒ</i> ԵՒՈՆ <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՄ</i> /	
ԱՄԵՆԱՑՆ ՀԱՑ	409
<i>ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒ</i> Ր	
ԱՄԵՆԱՅՆ ՀԱՅՈ8	409
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ</i>	
Uncertain	410
<i>ԼԵՒՈ</i> Ն <i>ԹԱԳԱՒ</i> Ր	
FUZUF E	410



GENERAL INDEX

Achdjian A. viii, xi. Adana 6, 8, 11, 12, 19, 25, 26, 37. Adler J. G. XI, XXII. Adontz N. xi. Ainsley, Lord, xxiv. Al-Ashraf, Sultan, 13, 19. Alishan L. M. XI, XXIX, 8, 9, 20, 32, 42, 43, 51–57, 67, 68, 73, 100, 129. Alishan S. M. 69, 104. Al-Nāṣir, Sultan 16, 17, 19, 42. Al-Nāşir, Eshiktimour 23, 24. American Numismatic Society, IX, X, British Museum VIII, XII. 183. Ani, 58. Antioch, XXVIII, 4-9, 26, 50. Armenian Alphabet, 65, 66. 15-19. Asiatic Museum, Leningrad, IX, XI. Byzant, see Besant Assises d'Antioche, x1, 49, 55, 85. Augustin J. J. x. Avkerian H. x1, 44, 55. Ayas, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 21, 25-32, 37, 42, 44, 45.

Babelon J. VIII. Baghdadlian K. viii, xvii. Bagradits, Kingdom of, 3, 4, 58. Baibars, Sultan, 11, 12, 44. Balog P. 73. Bar Hebraeus, x1, 46. Barthélemy A. de. xi, xxviii. Basmadjian K. J. vii, xii, xxix, 20, 43, 63, 70, 73, 88, 92, 93, 100, 105. Bedoukian P.Z. XII, XIX, XXX, XXXI, Crusaders, 5, 8, 15. 10,48,51,61,63,74,83,84,95,104. Crusades, Book, xiv, 9. Besant, 43, 44, 47.

Bibliothèque Nationale, VIII, XII, XXIX, 70, 74, 105. Billon, 50, 54, 62. Bissancios Stauratos, see Bysantii Stauratii Bissancio Sarracinati d'Armenie, 28. 43, 45. Blancard L. XII, 46. Bohemond of Antioch, 8, 9. Borrell H. P. XIII, XXVI, XXVIII. Breaden R. P. x. Brosset M. vII, XIII, XXV, 8, 67, 103. Buchenau H. XIII, 57. Buchon J. A. C. XIII, XXV. Bykov A. A. 1x, xxii. Armenian National Church, 4, 9, Bysantii Stauratii, xxxi, 43, 45, 48, 51, 52. Byzantines, 3–8. Byzantine Coins, 40, 44, 46, 57–64.

> Cahen C, XIII. Caley E. R. XIII, 109. Cappelletti G. XIII, XXV, 101. Chamchian M. XIV, XXIV. Chamich M. xiv, xxiv. Clark W. C. x. Collections, Survey of, 103-107. Comnenus John, 6. Conrad of Mittelsbach, 9, 76. Corpus Arrangement, 77, 80–87, 128. Corpus Nummorum Italicorum, XIV. Crusader Coins, 52–55, 61. Cuperi G. XIV, XXII.

490



D'Aix A. xIV, 46. Danishmends, 4, 6, 46. Dardel J. xiv, xxx, 18, 24, 99, De Beaumont A. xiv, 59. Der Ghazarian H. xiv, xxix. Der Nersessian S. x, xiv, 59. Desimoni C. XIV, 25, 28, 29, 52, 53. Dobrovoleskii E. 1X. Donabedian A. IX, XI, 129. Du Cange C. D. xiv, xxii.

Ebeyan A. A. 1x, xiv. Erivan State Museum, 1x, xv.

Forgeries, 75, 101, 226. Frederick Barbarossa 8, 57. Gagik, King, 4. Gamalov-Churaev, xv. Garabetian B. xv, xxiv, xxx, 56, Habeshian H. xvi, 70. 58, 70, 71, 78, 79, 97, 98, 106. Garmir, see Rouge Gelzer H. xv. Genoese, 22, 25-31, 37. Ghafadarian K. 1x. 68–75, 130. Gorigos, 19, 22, 25, 28, 29. Gosdantin Constable, 10, 11.

Coins; 67, 129. Gosdantin I, King, 13, 14, 87, 91. Gold Coins; XXIX, 63, 68–75, Silver Coins; xxv, xxxi, 63, 91, 111, 118, 123, 125, 334-335. Copper Coins; xxx1, 63, 91, 111,

Gosdantin I, Prince, XXIX, 5.

118, 123, 125, 335–336. Gosdantin II (Guy Lusignan), King, 17, 18, 95.

Silver Coins; xxx, 18, 64, 95, 121, 123, 125, 380–382.

123, 125, 382. Hoard; 97.

Gosdantin III, King, xxv, xxx, 18,

Silver Coins; xxv, xxx, 64, 95, 112, 121, 123, 125, 382-393. Copper Coins; 55, 64, 96, 112, 121, 123, 125, 393-395. Hoard; 97.

Gosdantin IV, King, xxx, 20-22. Silver Coins; xxx, 64, 98, 99, 112, 122, 123, 125, 399–406. Copper Coins; 64, 99, 112, 122,

123, 125, 406–408.

Gregory, Abirad, Catholicos, 9. Grierson P. xvi, 59.

Grousset H. xvi, 19, 46, 47.

Grunthal H. x. Guilhiermoz P. xvi.

Guy Lusignan, see Gosdantin II

Habozian M. Archbishop, VIII,

Hagopyan V. A. xvi, 14, 45, 47. Hayastan, xvi, xxviii.

Henry VI, King, 9, 56. Gold Coins, XXXI, 43-46, 50, 51, Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, IX, XVI, XXII.

Hetoum I, King, (Hetoum-Zabel), XXIII, XXIV, XXVI, 10, 11, 27, 29, 82.

> Gold Coins; 68–75, 80, 130. Bilingual Coins; xx11, xxv, xxvi, xxxi, 10-12, 51, 84, 85, 115, 226–235.

> Silver Coins; XXIII, XXIV, XXVI, XXVIII, XXXI, 12, 29, 48-54, 60, 82–85, 110, 115, 116, 235–

> Copper Coins; 12, 29, 61, 85-86, 111, 116, 123, 125, 276-28q.

Hoards; 83.

Copper Coins; 55, 64, 95, 121, Hetoum II, King, 13-15, 89. Billons; 54, 62, 89, 111, 117, 314-315.



Copper Coins; 62, 89-90, 111, Le Beau, XVIII, 67. 118, 123, 125, 315-325. Heyd W. xvi, 26. Hoards, xxx, 78, 83, 97. Hospitallers, Order of, 14, 29.

Ibn al-Athir, xvi, 47. Index of Legends, 411–489. Indjidjian G. xvi, xxiv. Inscriptions on Coins, 65–66. International Value of Coins, 40–42, 53-54. Iorga N. xvi, Istanbul Archeological Museum, IX, XVI.

Johnson R. W. x. Jenkins G. K. viii.

Kaikaus, Sultan, 10. Kaikhusrew, Sultan, 84. Bilingual Coins; see Hetoum I Kaikobad, Sultan, 10, 84. Bilingual Coins; see Hetoum I Kalajian K., IX, XVII. Kalemkiarian F. xxvIII, 68, 73. Kapamadji N. viii, xix. Kardez, 29, 30, 43, 48–51, 55. Karekin I, Catholicos xvi, 47. Khachigyan L. S. xvII, 20, 47, 48. Kilij Arslān, 61. Kogh Vasil, 5, 46. Kraft A. xvii, xxv, 101, 103. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, XVII. Kunz C. xvii. Kurdian H. 1x, xvi.

La Croze M. xvii, xxii. Lampron, 5, 81. Langlois V. VII, XVII, XXVI, XXVII, 8, 12, 16, 21, 27–32, 37, 39, 43, 51-57, 60, 67, 68, 73, 85, 90, 101, Levon the Usurper, xxx, 20, 97. 103. Lasdverdtzi A. xvIII.

Legends, Index, 411-489. Lelewel J. XVIII, XXVI. Leo, see Levon Le Rider G. VIII. Levon I, Prince, 6. Levon II, Prince, XXIX, 8, 9. Coins; 67, 129, 130. Levon I, King, XXIII, XXIV, 9, 27, 57. Gold Coins; XXVIII, XXXI, 10, 68-75, 130. Silver Coins; XXIV, XXV, XXVII, xxviii, xxxi, 10, 48, 51, 55, 60, 76–81, 109, 113, 114, 120, 123, 131-217. Billons; xxvIII, 10, 54, 82. Copper Coins; xxv, 10, 55, 59-60, 81–82, 110, 114, 115, 123, 125, 217-226. Hoards; 78. Levon II, King, 11, 12, 13, 26, 27, 29, 30. Silver Coins; 12, 32, 48, 53, 62, 86–88, 112, 117, 123, 290–307. Copper Coins; 55, 62, 88, 111, 117, 123, 125, 307-313. Levon III, King, 14, 15, 27, 37, 64, 91. Silver Coins; 14, 54, 64, 91, 111, 119, 123, 125, 336–347. Copper Coins; 55, 64, 92, 111, 119, 123, 125, 347–353. Levon IV, King, 16, 17, 27, 37, 39. Silver Coins; 16, 54, 56, 64, 94, 112, 120, 123, 125, 368-374. Copper Coins; 49, 55, 56, 64, 94, 112, 121, 123, 125, 374-380. Levon V Lusignan, King, 23, 24, 64, Silver (Billons); 64, 99, 112, 122, 124, 125, 408-409. Copper Coins; 49, 122, 124, 125, 409-410. Silver Coins; xxx, 20, 64, 97,

112, 122, 124, 125, 395–398.

Copper Coins; 98, 112, 122, 124, Oshin, King, xxv 15, 44. 125, 398–399. Livres, Genoese, 53. Lopez R. S. XVIII, 30.

Macler F. xvIII. Mamluks, 11, 12, 14, 16, 42. Manantyan H. xvIII, 4. Manuel, Emperor, 7. Marcar S. xviii, xxv, xxviii. Marco Polo, XVIII, 29. Mardikian Museum, Beirut, IX, XVIII. Pembroke T. XIX, XXIII. Marsden W. xvIII, 61. Marthaler B. 1x. Mas Latrie L. XVIII, 29. Mateos Ourhaietzi, (Matthew of Philaretus, 4, 5. Edessa), xvIII, 44. Mekhitarists of Venice, VIII, XXI, XXIII, XXVII, XXIX, 67, 68, 71, 73, Mekhitarists of Vienna, VIII, XXI, xxv, xxvII, 67, 73, 101. Melik Hussein, Sultan, 23. Mertens E. xvIII, 57. Metrology of Roupenian Coins, 108-112. Migeon G. XVIII, 58. Miles G. C. x. Mleh, 6–8, 67. Mnatsaganyan A. Sh. xix, 59. Mongols, 11-13. Montgomery, Compte de, XIX, XXIII. Morgan, J. de, vii, xix, xxix, 67, 129. Mosser, Sawyer McA. x. Mousheghian Kh. 1X. Musei Imp. Petr. XXII.

Nasir, Sultan, 16–18, 42. Nerses of Lampron, 8. North G. H. x. Nubar Librairie, Paris, XIX.

Olcay N. 1x. Oulouhojian, Archbishop, VIII. Oshin, Lord of Gorigos, 15.

Silver Coins; xxv, xxvi, 16, 54, 92, 93, 119, 123, 125, 353–365. Copper Coins; xxv1, 49, 55, 93, 112, 120, 123, 125, 365–368. Østrup J. xix, 61.

Partzrpert, 4. Pegolotti F. XIX, 39, 42, 49, 54, 55. Pellerin J. XIX, XXIII. Peter I, King of Cyprus, 19-22. Petit M. XIX, 56. Philip, King, 10, 11. Pilarghou, 14, 15. Pogh, 43, 49, 55. Poladian A. 1x, x1x, 83. Post Roupenian Coins, 410.

Qala'ūn, Sultan, 12, 13, 87.

Raymond-Roupen, 9, 10, 82. Raymond I. W. XIX, 30. Reynald of Chatillon, 7. Reinaud J. T. xix, 58. Roman Catholic Church, 9, 15, 17, 18, 19. Rouge, 43-45. Roupen I, Prince, 4, 5. Roupen II, Prince, 5, 6, 8. Royal Chronicle, XIX. Runciman S. XIX, 9, 46.

Sabatier J. XIX, 57, 61. Sakisian A. xx. Samuel Anetsi, (Samuel of Ani), xx, Sanjian G. viii. Sanuto M. xx, 25. Sarre F. xx, 58. Saulcy F. de, xx, xxvi, 60, 90. Savorgnan M. de. xxIII. Sbidag, 47.



Sols, 53.

Spinelli D. xx1, 60.

Statistics on Coins, 113–125. Staurat, see Bysantii Staruatii

Strzygowski J. xx1, 58, 62.

Surmeyian A. XXI, 45.

Schlumberger G. xx, xxvii, xxviii, Tank, 43, 48, 55. 45, 56, 59, 60–64, 68, 73, 77. Seljuks, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12. Senekerim, King, 4. Sestini D. xx, xxiv, xxvii, 90. Shiragatzi, A. 44, 46. Sibilian C. vii, viii, xx, xxvi, xxvii, XXVIII, XXX, 21, 43, 45, 55, 57, 64, 68, 73, 78, 85, 88, 93, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101, 104. Sis, 11, 12, 19, 21, 22, 23, 27, 37, 44, 76, 96. Smith H. R. xx1, 56. Smpad, Chronicles, xx1, 44, 46, 63, Smpad, King, 13, 14. Silver Coins; 90, 118, 325-328. Tristan J. xx1, xx11. Copper Coins; 55, 63, 90, 111, 119, 123, 125, 328–334. Soldi, 53.

Tahegan, 43-47. Taccolini, see Takvorin Takvorin, 12, 16, 39, 42, 43, 48, 49, 50, 54.

Tarsus, 6, 8, 10, 11, 19, 25, 26, 27, 37. Mint, 76, 96. Templars, 7, 14, 29. Tenar (dinar), 43-46, 49, 55. Till-Hamdoon, 10, 14. Timoni, xxv, 103. Toros I, Prince, 5. Coins, XXIX, 5, 67, 129. Toros II, Prince, 6, 7. Coins, XXIX, 67, 129. Toros, Brother of King Hetoum II, xxiv, 13, 89. Coins, xxv1, 80, 89, 90. Tram (Various denominations), 30-49, 50-53, 76-86. Troubetzkoy A. xxi.

Vartan, Historian, xx1, 44, 46, 48. Values of money, 40-42, 53-54. Values of materials, 30-42. Venetians, 25, 27, 28, 29, 32, 37, 42, 45. Von Falke, XXI, 58. Von Wellenheim, xx1, xxv.

Walker J. viii. Weights and measures, 41, 42.

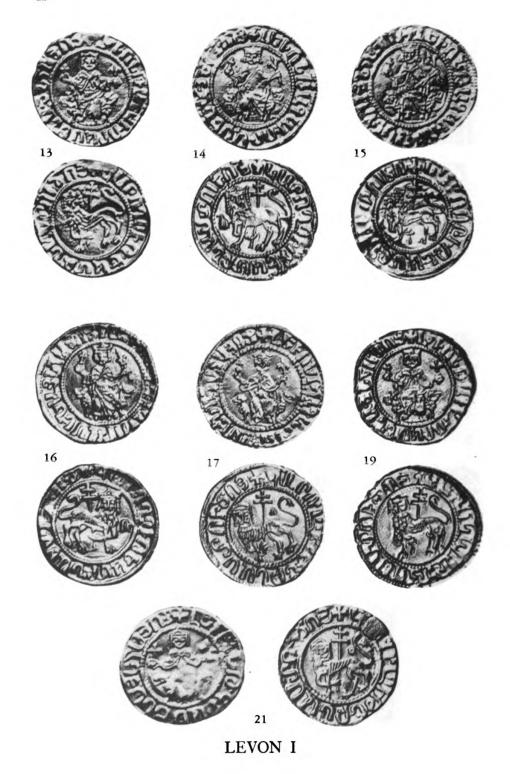
Zabel, Queen, see Hetoum I, King.

PLATES



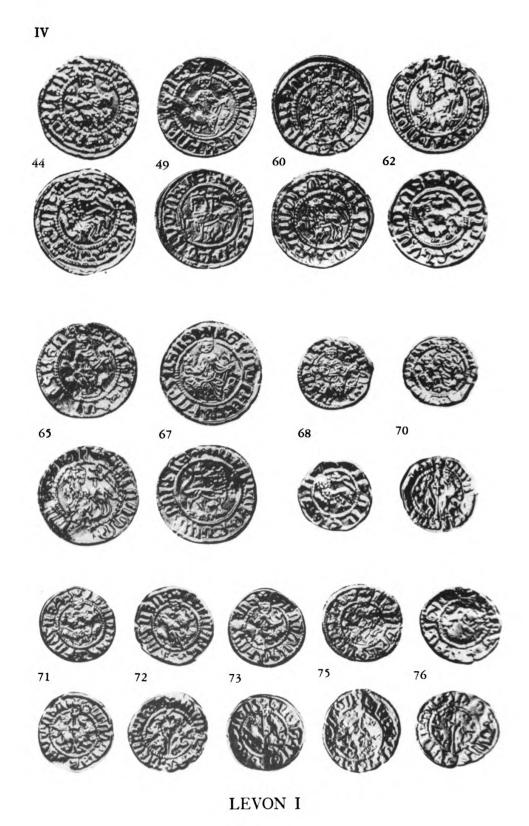


PRINCE TOROS II (1); PRINCE TOROS OR GOSDANTIN (2); PRINCE TOROS II (3); PRINCE LEVON II (4); LEVON I GOLD COINS (5, 6); LEVON I — HETOUM I GOLD COIN (7); GOSDANTIN I GOLD COIN (8); LEVON I BILLONS STRUCK IN ANTIOCH (10, 11)

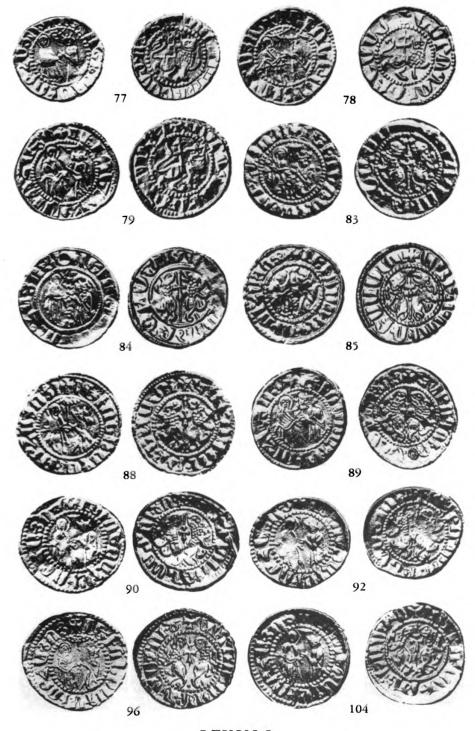




LEVON I







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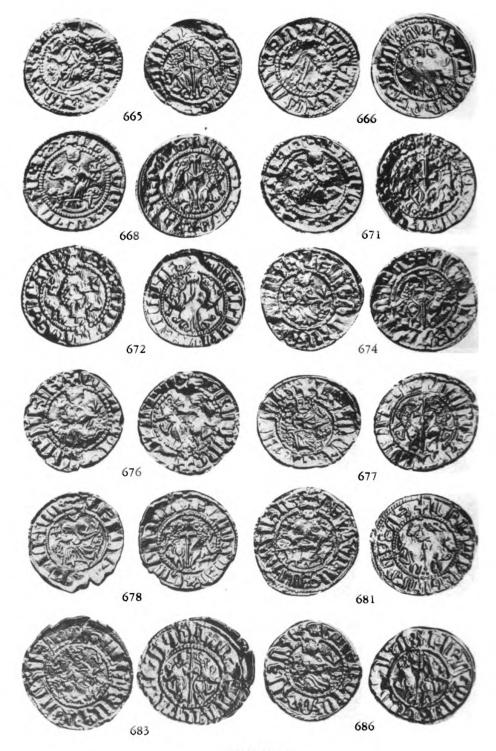
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XVI



LEVON I

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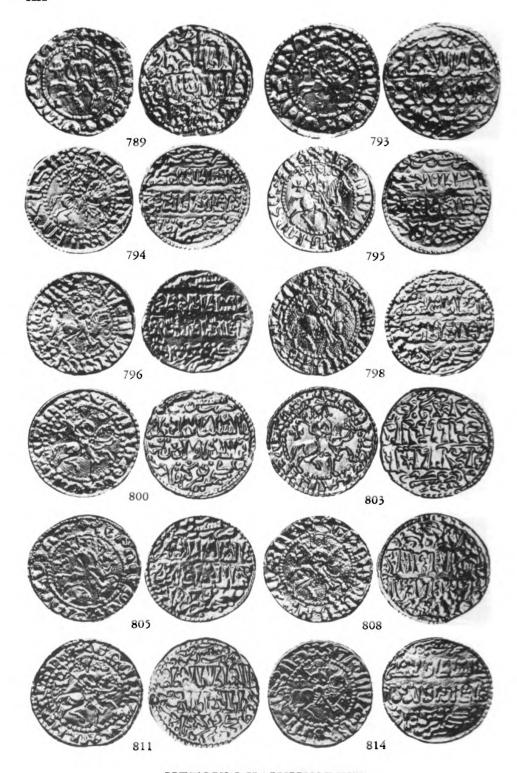


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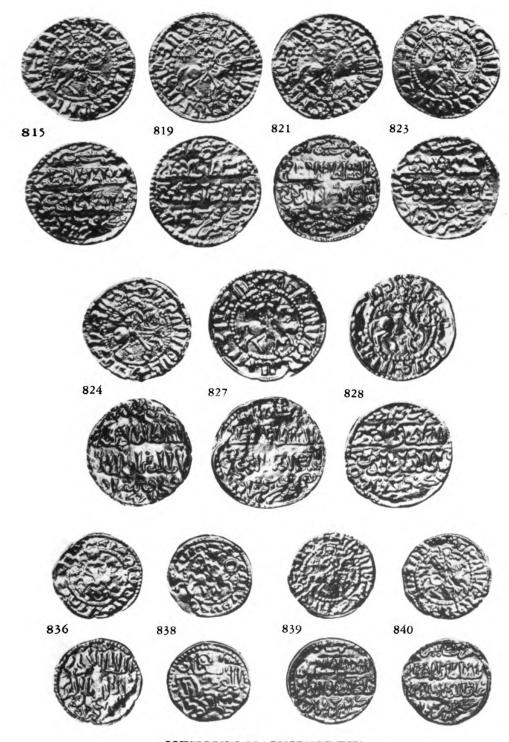
HETOUM-KAIKOBAD

 $\mathbf{x}\mathbf{x}$



HETOUM-KAIKHUSREW





HETOUM-KAIKHUSREW HETOUM-KAIKOBAD (836, 838)

XXII



HETOUM-ZABEL



HETOUM-ZABEL



HETOUM-ZABEL



HETOUM-ZABEL



HETOUM-ZABEL



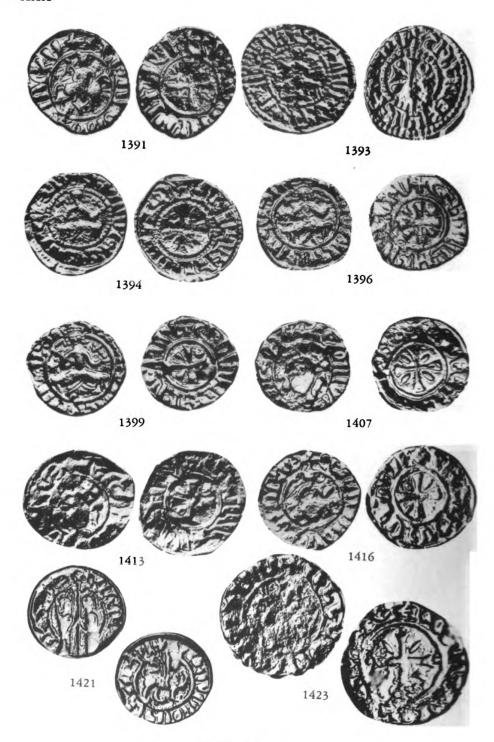








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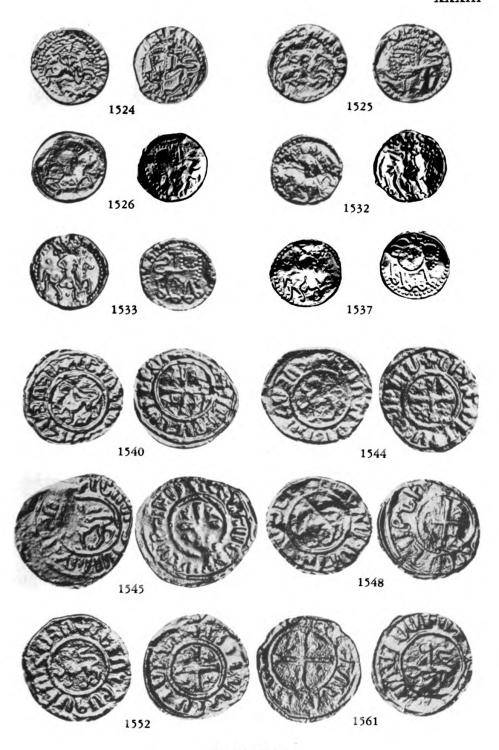
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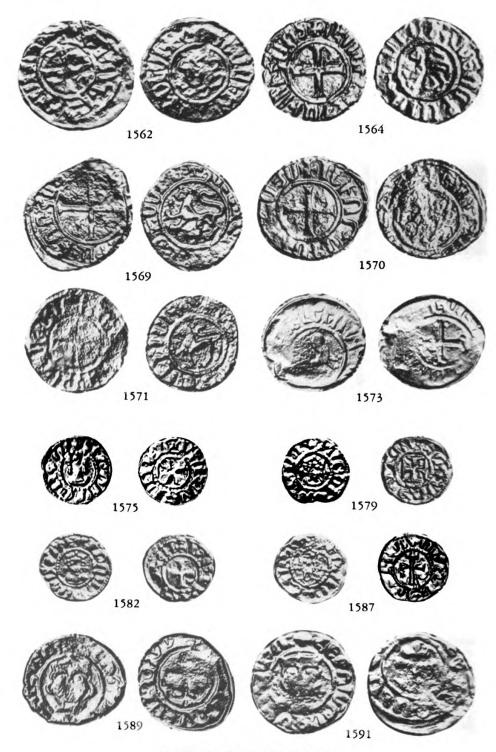
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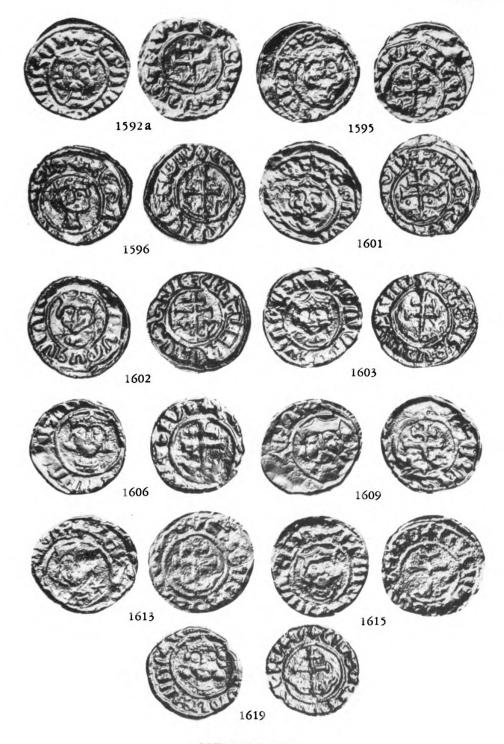
LEVON II



LEVON II



LEVON II (1562-1573) HETOUM II (1575-1591)



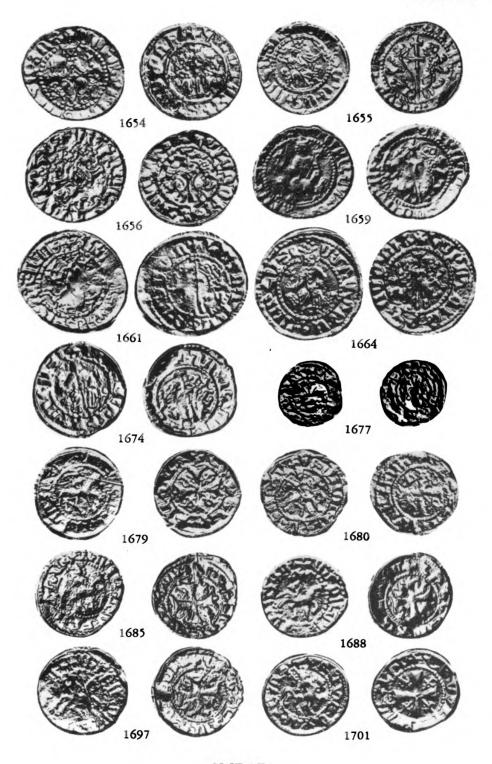
HETOUM II



HETOUM II (1621-1649) SMPAD (1713, 1723)



XXXVII



SMPAD



GOSDANTIN I (1725-1730) LEVON III (1734-1753)



LEVON III



LEVON III



OSHIN



OSHIN (1935-1947) LEVON IV (1948-1960)



LEVON IV



LEVON IV (2005-2028) GUY (GOSDANTIN II) (2029-2040) GOSDANTIN III (2043-2047)



GOSDANTIN III

XLVI



LEVON THE USURPER (2130-2168) GOSDANTIN IV (2175-2179)



XLVII



GOSDANTIN IV



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A BRONZE HOARD OF THE PERIOD OF ZENO I

By HOWARD L.ADELSON
AND
GEORGE L.KUSTAS



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NEW YORK

1962

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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS Number 148



NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

is devoted to essays and treatises on subjects relating to coins, paper money, medals and decorations.

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A Bronze Hoard of the Period of Zeno I

By HOWARD L. ADELSON
AND
GEORGE L. KUSTAS



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

NEW YORK

1962



CJ 35 N7 mo.148

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CONTENTS

PREFACE	• •	• •	• •		• •	 	 • •	• •	• •	vii
ABBREVIATIONS						 	 			ix
DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS .				• •		 	 			1
METROLOGICAL ANALYSIS						 	 			17
TABLES						 	 		••	36
CATALOGUE						 	 			44





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PREFACE

This monograph marks the publication of the second of three hoards of Roman bronze from the late fifth century which have come to our attention. The hoards are all basically of the same composition. In each case, the earliest specimens, which decrease in number as one moves down in time, are the remnants of the coinage of the middle and late fourth century still in circulation. The first hoard, part of the collection of Yale University, was published by us in Museum Notes IX, pp. 139–188. It extends to the period of Leo I. Of the second and third, both acquired for the American Numismatic Society by Miss Katherine M. Edwards during her sojourns in Greece in the 1920's, the second continues to the second reign of the Emperor Zeno, while the third has its terminus in the pre-reform coinage of the early years of the reign of Anastasius.

The period represented by the three hoards forms what is often viewed as the deep trough of an impenetrable fog lying between the Constantinian age and the Byzantine splendor of the epoch of Justinian. We hope that through this work the reader will come to share our regard for the importance of the coins as historical pieces of evidence with a personality of their own and that the study will contribute toward the reconstruction of the history of the times in sharper outline than has previously been possible.

Although the study as a whole represents a collaborative effort and is, inevitably, the product of continual cooperation between its joint authors, the metrological analysis and its tabulation are the work of Mr. Adelson, while Mr. Kustas is responsible primarily for the description of the hoard and the conclusions derived therefrom. It is worthwhile to report that the application of two essentially different methodologies for the study of the coins, each elaborated independently of the other, has in no instance yielded contradictory results. Whether our conclusions are thereby mutually validated we leave to the discretion of our readers.



We should like to thank the Publication Committee of the Society for sanctioning the publication of the work, and we owe a particular debt to the friends and colleagues who have belabored their eyesight along with us in attempting an identification of some of the more stubborn specimens. The errors in ascription and discussion we guard as our very own.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Y = the bronze hoard of minimi of Leo I, part of the Yale collection; published by us with the title, "A Bronze Hoard of the Period of Leo I," in *Museum Notes* IX (1960), pp. 139-188.
- V =the Volo hoard.
- Bellinger = A. R. Bellinger, Catalogue of the Coins Found at Corinth, 1925, New Haven, 1930.
- Blake = R. P. Blake, "The Monetary Reform of Anastasius I and Its Economic Implications," American Council of Learned Societies. The Disciplines of the Humanities. Studies in the History of Culture. Menasha, Wisconsin, 1942.
- Bury = J. B. Bury, History of the Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the death of Justinian (A. D. 395 to A.D. 565), London, 1931, vol. I of 2 vols.
- CK = Part II. Bronze Roman Imperial Coinage of the Later Empire, A.D. 346-498, by R. A. G. Carson and J. P. C. Kent, included in a volume entitled Late Roman Bronze Coinage A.D. 324-498, London, 1960. Part II is a reprint with corrections and additions of a series of articles originally appearing in Numismatic Circular from 1957 to 1959.
- Mattingly = H. Mattingly, "A Late Roman Hoard from Corinth," Numismatic Chronicle, 5th Series XI (1931), pp. 229-233.
- Pearce, Roman Coinage = J. W. E. Pearce, Roman Coinage from A. D. 364-423, London, 1933.
- Pearce and Wood = J. W. E. Pearce and M. E. Wood, "A Late Roman Hoard from Dalmatia," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5th Series XIV (1934), pp. 269-283.
- Thompson = M. Thompson, The Athenian Agora. Volume II. Coins from the Roman through the Venetian Period, Princeton, 1954.
- Waage = D. B. Waage, Antioch-on-the-Orontes, IV, Part II. Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Crusaders' Coins, Princeton, 1952.
- BMC = W. Wroth, Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards (and the Empires of Thessalonica, Nicaea and Trebizond) in the British Museum, London, 1911.



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DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

Among the holdings of the American Numismatic Society is a large bronze hoard of Æ 3 and Æ 4 ranging from the time of Constantine the Great to the second reign of Zeno in the latter part of the fifth century. Plans to publish this and similar hoards of *minimi* in the Society's collection had been developed by Miss Katherine Edwards, but were thwarted by her death in 1950. She had proceeded to the point of grouping together the various reverse types and of producing a tentative check-list of the contents of the hoard. Her notes indicate that the coins were purchased in the Greek city of Volo in Thessaly sometime in the 20's. No further information about provenience is presently available.

The Volo hoard consists of 2231 bronze pieces. Of these, 1064 are legible in whole or in part and are listed in the catalogue. The illegible 1167 remaining have been disregarded. Among the latter are included 9 specimens of extremely small module (c. 3 mm.) which do not appear to have received the imprint of a die, and 20 pieces of exceedingly thin flan showing two or more "taps" on the surface in the following form: A. We have ignored the slivers, as they serve no scientific purpose other than to record the brittleness of the metal. Their number increases in proportion to the number of times they are handled. At present there are about 100.

The hoard shows the same general composition as Y. If its purchase in Volo is a sign of its geographical provenience, our hypothesis that the Yale deposit lay somewhere on "a line running from Corinth through Dalmatia" seems supported. The hoard consists of both Æ 3 pieces, all of which have been cut down, and Æ 4's:

¹ Minimi is not a scientific term of reference and does not appear in the contemporary literature. In modern studies the word usually refers, as it will here throughout, to bronze pieces of £4 module or smaller from the late fourth century on, minted either under official authority or by irregular moneyers in both the Eastern and Western portions of the Empire. For a discussion of the terminology used by the Romans themselves see Y, pp. 148ff.
² Y, p. 148.

I



Of the 1064 legible specimens, 62 are barbarous issues, the rest Roman. Of these 62, 5 are \cancel{E} 3 and the remainder \cancel{E} 4. All the examples of \cancel{E} 3 in the hoard have been cut down. As in Y, they all show a very high degree of wear because of the long period of circulation. The sharp edges suggest that the clipping was done not at the time of manufacture but at some later date in the fifth century, as an integral part of the system of production³, no doubt for the purpose of making them conform generally to the reduced weight and module of the \cancel{E} 4, although even clipped they continue to be somewhat heavier than these. It is instructive to note that Y, which extends from Constantine I only as far as Leo, contains a higher percentage of \cancel{E} 3. Clearly, as time went on, more were lost to circulation.⁴

The evidence of barbarization is less than in Y. There are, for example, no coins equivalent to 504–515 in the Yale catalogue, which show reverses bearing no correspondence whatever to Roman issues. However, one occasionally finds among the issues of Marcian, Leo, and Zeno a specimen which shows a degree of debasement which could not conceivably be the product of a Roman mint.⁵ The larger body of material in comparison with Y thus permits us to draw back the curtain a little more and verify the existence of the irregular moneyer. However, the rarity of these barbarous issues only serves to point up the almost complete control that the Roman mint still retained over its coinage, a control that has hitherto not been fully realized.

V has also some barbarous Æ 3, a phenomenon not appearing in Y. Because they are so out of keeping with the character of the remainder of the hoard, so similar to issues found abundantly in Western



³ For a discussion of clipping see p. 18 and Y, p. 144.

⁴ Further proof of this lies in the Zacha hoard (unpublished), presently in the vault of the Society. Zacha is a village in the western Peloponnese. The hoard also starts with Constantine, but extends beyond V into the sixth century. Only a very few Æ 3 appear in it, in a proportion less even than V.

⁵ Marcian: 411-417; Leo: 508, 739, 886; Zeno: 1002; illegible monograms: 1014-1022.

finds, and at the same time so limited in number (5: 8, 54, 64, 65, 80), we are justified in supposing them Western barbarian intrusions into an Eastern Roman hoard. Not only the style but the metal, which is a dark, rich brown as against the greenish-gray of the hoard as a whole, suggests minting in a different area. The styling reminds one of the Roman issues of the period of Valentinian III with their heavy lettering and generally "dumpy" fabric. Since the types are drawn with much greater sparsity and with a debased economy of line that has much in common with the so-called barbarous radiates, it is difficult to determine their origin with any exactness. Northeastern Italy or the northwestern portion of the Balkans will be a reasonable guess.

The coins of V are as a rule much clearer and more legible than those in Y. In a good many instances the mint-mark may be read. As a whole they give us a better indication of the numismatic production of the period than has generally been available from other published finds. Beginning sometime in the reign of Theodosius II

- ⁶ There is, however, no reason to suspect that these coins are not integral to the hoard. The difference may perhaps be sufficiently accounted for by a difference in the composition of the metal as well as the placement of the coins within the deposit.
- ⁷ The range of style even among the regular issues is notable and no doubt to be explained in part through the social and economic disruptions of the period, as a result of which the experienced die-cutter became a rarity. See our remarks in Y, pp. 140, 141 and the judicious observations of J. W. E. Pearce in discussing similar coinage from a late 4th century bronze find ("An Eastern Hoard of Late Æ," Numismatic Chronicle 5th Series XI (1931), p. 321): "I am convinced that if unmistakable instances of degradation are found they must be due to forgers or, if legitimate, to local and temporary conditions at the mint and are no evidence in themselves of an empty Treasury and a consequent policy of inflation."
- ⁸ To the list of published material from this period listed in Y, pp. 145, 146, one should add a hoard found at Corinth in the course of the excavations of 1937. The contents are given by J. M. Harris, "Coins Found at Corinth," Hesperia X (1941), p. 145. The hoard contains some coins from the House of Constantine, I coin of Valentinian I, 6 Marcian, 3 Leo, 9 Zeno, 92 Anastasius, and 6 Justinian I. That all such finds represent official Roman minting is suggested also by A. Bon in his reference to a similar, unpublished hoard from the western Peloponnese (Le Peloponnèse byzantin jusqu'en 1204, Paris, 1951, p. 17, note 6): "—les monnaies authentiquement barbares sont rares, et l'on peut discuter pour savoir si les monnaies byzantines des V^o-VI^o siècles qui passent pour des imitations barbares à cause de leur maladresse sont réellement l'oeuvre de graveurs non byzantins."





and continuing throughout the century, the dies are practically always larger than the flan. The reduction in the size of the coins created a demand for miniaturization in die-cutting that the unskilled craftsman of the day could not easily meet, while the technique of coining itself was not adequate to an accurately placed impression on so small a flan.

With the exception of those issues which bear the mint-mark of Rome and those few of Roman provenience or for which a Roman provenience is probable or possible, all the coins in the hoard, aside from the barbarous Æ 3 mentioned above, were minted in the eastern regions of the Empire. If we consider that V offers twice as many legible specimens as Y, the proportion of issues from Rome in both hoards (21 Y; 23 V) would suggest that Y is to be located in the western Balkans, closer to Rome than V, which will have a provenience somewhere in eastern Greece. V being a later deposit, the issues from Rome, which belong to the middle of the century, tended to be rejected or to pass out of circulation more and more. In other words, they show the same pattern of disuse as the Æ 3.

Neither Alexandria nor Heraclea is represented in the hoard. Y has 3 Alexandrian specimens, 2 of Arcadius and 1 of his general period. No examples have been recorded for Zeno, while Leo's issue is limited to the early "lion" series. 10 The sparsity of representation from Alexandria suggests that the output from this mint served mostly Egyptian needs. Indeed, the chaos of Egyptian currency

9 1 (23) of Valentinian II; 2 (37, 38) of Honorius; 1 (45) of Arcadius; 2 (66, 72) late 4th, early 5th century; I barbarous specimen (77) of Theodosius I, Arcadius, or Honorius; and 5 (258, 259, 266, 267, 270) of the period of Valentinian III show varieties of the Roman mint-mark. The three G's require 71 to have been issued either at Rome or Aquileia (see catalogue note s.v.). The type showing a camp-gate with a star between the turrets belongs to western mints (75, 76). As in the case of 71, since we have nothing definitely ascribable to any mint farther west than Rome, these too are probably Roman. The issues of Valentinian III and of his period showing a distinctive letter in the field are beyond a doubt Roman (254, 260-262, 265, 268, 269). Finally, examples of the "two victories facing one another, holding one wreath (and palms?)" (273), of which there are some specimens in Y (285-289), some given by Pearce and Wood (p. 283), and some by Newell (E. T. Newell, Two Hoards from Minturno. Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 60. New York, 1933, pp. 31, 32 (95-108), in so far as the designation of mint is available, issue 10 See CK 2932. from Rome.



in the fifth century to which Milne has called attention¹¹ attests the isolation of the region from the rest of the Empire. After Theodosius II's CONCORDIA AVG cross reverse from Alexandria, there appears to be a break. None of his "cross in wreath" has, so far as we have been able to determine, an Alexandrian source, nor do any of Marcian's issues. Among the coins of the Eastern mints from Licinius I to Theodosius II found in the Agora excavations at Athens, Alexandria makes the poorest showing. It is therefore not surprising that in the region to the north of Athens for the latter part of the century, when the mint was still in operation, the representation falls to nothing.

Heraclea Thracica stands in somewhat similar case. In reviewing the Agora material, Thompson remarks: "One would except to find Heraclea outranking the two more distant mints (viz., Nicomedia and Antioch). Its small representation may indicate minor importance as a workshop or a channeling of its output to the north rather than the south."13 Unfortunately, no material from the north has been published in complete enough form to assist us here. However, a suggestion of the truth of Thompson's statement issues from a comparison of V with the Agora coins, Pearce and Wood's Dalmatian hoard, and Mattingly's Corinthian pieces. Corinth has only I Heraclean specimen out of 478 coins;14 the Dalmatian hoard to the north 10 out of 2197—a somewhat larger proportion. Y has 3 out of 928. The total lack of representation from Heraclea in V is probably accidental, but the scarcity in these Balkan hoards, coupled with a similar absence in Pearce's hoard from Asia Minor, 15 implies an output from this mint progressively declining in the course of the fifth century. Only in a deposit in the environs of Heraclea may we expect to find any sizeable representation of this mintage.

The coinage from Antioch shows a steady contraction from the voluminous issues of the House of Constantine. The last verifiable



¹¹ J. G. Milne, "Two Roman Hoards of Coins from Egypt," Journal of Roman Studies X (1920), p. 184.

¹² Thompson, p. 6. Similarly for Pearce and Wood's Dalmatian hoard.

¹³ Loc. cit.

¹⁴ Bellinger, passim.

¹⁵ J. W. E. Pearce, "A Late Roman Hoard from Southwest Asia Minor," Numismatic Chronicle 5th Series, XV (1935), passim.

example from Antioch in V is the "cross in wreath" of Theodosius II and his period, where, indeed, the number of specimens exceeds that from any other mint. This large sampling is unusual, particularly as neither the Agora nor the Corinth material confirms it. Whether it implies a direct line of communication between Thessaly and Antioch is hard to say. Antiochene coins of the reign of Marcian are quite rare (none in V). The decline in volume is deducible from the fact that only the "lion in wreath" coinage is recorded for Leo. It is tempting to assume that the same imperial order brought about the interruption of coining in Antioch as well as Alexandria, but absence of confirmatory evidence makes a closer determination at present impossible.

The assumption that only Constantinople minted for Zeno, 18 in any case, must be rejected. The Agora has unearthed a monogram issue from the mint of Thessalonica (Thompson, 1678, unconfirmed) and V has two more (990, 991, confirmed). Cyzicus shows a total of 6 coins (921, 922, 936, 937, 959, 994), and there is one from Nicomedia (1004) with a rare reverse (Sab. 18) and unusual fabric and style. The preponderance of Zeno's issues, however, show no mintmark and, indeed, no space for one. It may be presumptuous under the circumstances to assign them all to Constantinople. The force of tradition would play a hand here, aside from considerations of economy. Efficiency would be better served by a more equitable and wider distribution of currency throughout the realm than by the concentration of coining in only one location. Nor should one neglect the purely material consideration that, as the module of Zeno's coins becomes smaller, there is really no room left for the inclusion of the mint-mark. The smaller size could quite easily provoke the removal of the mint-mark as it did the finer details of the wreath border. Further, since the dies were always larger than the flan, any reduction in module would tend to eliminate the impression of the mint-mark. The possibility of differentiation according to style bears out the assumption of more than one mint. From the evidence



¹⁶ We have seen two such from the collection of Professor A. R. Bellinger of Yale University.

¹⁷ CK 2813; I unconfirmed specimen at Antioch (2028).

¹⁸ CK p. 110 and implicit in Sabatier's listings.

available Cyzicus appears to have used only two forms of Zeno's monogram, \(\mathbb{I}\) and \(\mathbb{I}\) (V 3 and 4), while Thessalonica shows only \(\mathbb{K}\) (V 5). Generalizations are facile and dangerous, but most of the coins which show monograms \(\mathbb{I}\) and \(\mathbb{I}\) (V 3 and 4), 915–988, are of poorer metal and lighter weight than those with monograms \(\mathbb{N}\) and \(\mathbb{N}\) (V 1 and 2), 896–914, and display a workmanship which pays less attention to detail, the lineation of both obverse and reverse being thicker and more economical.

A similar problem arises when one considers those issues of Leo with the standing female figure on the reverse (Sab. 15). This issue constitutes by far the largest single grouping in the hoard (740–886), a total of 147 coins, or one seventh of all the legible pieces. None shows a mint-mark. Is it not at least theoretically possible, considering the wide distribution of mints for both Leo and Zeno, 19 that some of this large number should be assigned to mints other than Constantinople? It is true that a high consistency of styling can not be expected in a period which, as we have suggested,²⁰ could not always command the services of good die-cutters. Nor does the volume of the issue require any other explanation than a decision on the part of emperor or mint-master. However, the possibility of arriving at certain clearly defined stylistic groupings evokes a tantalizing suspicion that there is an inner logic to material at first sight so seemingly amorphous, could we but find the key, and reconfirms the close measure of control over the economy of the Empire and its coinage that the poverty of the individual minimus seems to belie. In this particular instance a tentative division might again be made on the basis of weight and module, and we may further observe that some coins show a thickness and economy of line reminiscent of some of the monogram issues of Zeno. Whether this distinction has its source in a particular period of the reign or in a particular geographical area is a question which must await the evidence of additional finds for its solution. Attempts to connect such features with particular versions of the obverse legend for both Leo and Zeno, a technique which would allow at least a relative dating, have not produced meaningful results.



¹⁹ See p. 41.

²⁰ Y p. 141.

In the final analysis, however, we should not lose sight of the very heavy concentration of Constantinopolitan issues. The capital continued throughout the century to be the prime source of coinage for the Empire as a whole and may indeed have arrogated to itself more of this privilege as time went on. Leo's various "lion" reverses, a total of 91 coins, where we can read the mint-mark, all come from Constantinople. The exception is 418 with CVZ, on which the lion is in standing posture. The group allows us a neat stylistic evaluation, for it falls into two very distinct series, the "crouching" form of the animal (424–508) displaying a homogeneity of style quite distinct from the coins with the "standing" variety (418–423), which are of totally different composition and much more finely made. The fact that the crouching variety in V all issues from Constantinople would suggest that the recorded specimens from other mints must be quite rare.²¹

The 27 coins from Nicomedia in V attest the continuing importance of the city in the economy of the Empire. We note that under Marcian its output is practically the same as that of Constantinople. However, although the concentration is large, it is also selective. Nicomedia shows a large proportion of the varieties of the Marcianic monogram but appears not to have minted any of Leo's monogram series, its coining for the latter emperor being limited to the "emperor and captive" type. Marcian shows two mint-marks, NIC and NICO, Leo only NIC. The styling of Nicomedian coins can be distinguished with a fair amount of certainty. The flans tend to be broader and thinner, with somewhat higher relief. The outlines of the figure reverses, the leaves of the wreath, and the monogram lines are sharp and distinct. The wreath is invariably well made, the leaves not filled out but represented by sharply drawn lines in good relief.

Like Nicomedia, Cyzicus is a major mint of the Empire and continues its production through the reign of Zeno. The absence of specimens in V from the reign of Marcian and the strongly rising representation from the two succeeding emperors (Leo, 5; Zeno, 5) point to an increased output from this source or, conversely, a reduc-

²¹ CK list such for Thessalonica, Cyzicus, and Alexandria. A "walking" lion is recorded for Heraclea and Nicomedia (CK 2009, 2470), and the animal in standing position for Antioch (CK 2813).



tion in minting between Theodosius II (7 coins) and Leo. However, the fact that a relatively high proportion of the coins of Marcian on which the mint-mark is legible is from Cyzicus (2 out of 10) warns us against too arbitrary a conclusion. For both Leo and Zeno Cyzicene style and fabric are the crudest among the specimens in V. The metal is flaky and brittle, the styling close to barbarous.

Of all the mints Thessalonica is closest to the area of deposition. Hence it is surprising that no examples of its coinage appear before Marcian. Y shows a similar lack. The phenomenon is particularly strange when we observe that coins from Thessalonica head the list in the Agora excavations.²² Corinth shows a very sizeable representation for the fourth, but a heavy drop for the fifth century.²³ Pearce and Wood's Dalmatian material and Mattingly's Corinthian hoard²⁴ have similar lacunae. Part of the explanation lies in the fact that the mint suspended operations in bronze between 393 and the joint reign of Honorius and Theodosius II, 408-423.25 However, this does not explain the notable lack of examples from before or after this period. Aside from emphasizing the importance of Athens and the relative decline of Corinth in the commerce of the fifth century, 26 the evidence would indicate that money from Thessalonica was sent abroad by sea to serve the large marts of the Empire. The inland regions of the Balkans were left to their own devices, supplied with currency from the more distant mints (in part by overland means?). There must have been little contact between the Greek littoral and the Balkan hinterland in the fifth century. Leo's issues from the mint of Thessalonica are the best made of the coins in the hoard. They are carefully rounded and the metal is firm. The lines of the monogram are curved, as if to conform to the contour of the coin itself. The lettering is carefully executed.

- 22 Thompson, p. 6. For Licinius I through Theodosius II Thessalonica shows 1364 coins; Constantinople, the next mint in order of frequency, 1244.
- 23 Bellinger, passim. No specimens of Theodosius II appear in Corinth.
- ²⁴ Dalmatia: 5 of Theodosius I and his period; 2 Arcadius; 7 Marcian CHES; 5 Leo. Corinth: 1 of Theodosius I; 1 Arcadius; 6 Marcian; none for Leo.
- 25 See CK p. 77.
- ²⁶ For Corinth in the fifth century see J. H. Finley, Jr., "Corinth in the Middle Ages," Speculum VII (1922), pp. 477, 478, and P. Charanis, "The Significance of Coins as Evidence for the History of Athens and Corinth in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries," Historia IV (1955), pp. 163, 164.



Five coins from the reign of Marcian bear a mint-mark usually read as CHES (323-325, 374, 375). The mark has occasioned some difficulty. Cherson has been suggested.27 However, there is no reason to posit a mint in such a remote area at this time. Chersonese coinage probably does not begin before Justinian I, in any case in the sixth, not the fifth century.28 Pearce and Wood record the existence of several more examples, again of Marcian, in the Dalmatian hoard, but attempt no ascription. It is noticeable that no Marcianic coins occur with the traditionally recognized marks of Thessalonica, TES or THS, or with any formula that may be so interpreted. There is thus a gap in the coinage of Marcian from Thessalonica which requires explanation. The mint is working in both the previous and succeeding reigns and there is no reason to suspect a suspension of its operations under Marcian. The large sampling in V of CHES coins (5 out of 30 on which the mint-mark is legible) would suggest a major output such as could more easily be met at a major minting center than at a new site. Theodosius II has a wider range of mints to supply his needs. With Marcian there is a contraction of imperial power to the Eastern territories. This would also help explain the sharp rise in coinage from Thessalonica that we observe for Leo in the hoard. While there is no doubt of the form of the initial letter in our mint-mark, we have no hesitation in supposing C to stand for T and CHES to represent the mint of Thessalonica. The transition from the form T to C in this period is confirmed by coin 511 which clearly has the rounded T (THS for THS), with the same distinctive styling as the other Thessalonican specimens from Leo's reign. The assignment of CHES to Thessalonica is epigraphically sound. It supplies the gap in the hoard material and meets the historical requirements of the period.

A more serious difficulty is raised by KOC, observed in large numbers for Leo (10 coins), with 1 specimen recorded for Basiliscus²⁹ and 2 for Zeno. The specimens of all these emperors have a common style, in some particulars close to that of Nicomedia. The flans tend to be broader than usual and the relief somewhat higher. Effect



²⁷ By Miss Katherine Edwards in her notes on V.

²⁸ On Byzantine coinage from the Chersonese mint see BMC, p. ciii.

²⁹ Possibly 2, if the .O. of 1024 conceals KOC and not CON.

is achieved by emphasis on line, in the wreath, the lettering, or the monogram. The exergual line is very prominent in this group and invariably wavy.

Let us consider first the KOC coins of Leo. V contains 10 examples (667-675 and 703), 9 **¼** (V 6) and I (703) of indeterminate monogram. It is a fair assumption that this maverick is also &. (V 6). The hoard as a whole has 26 coins (667–692) with this monogram. It records no other mint-mark for this series. So far as the preservation of the obverses permits us to judge, there is a fairly wide variety of legends, with a preponderance of the short DNLEO. The K of the mint-mark would seem to indicate that KOC is a Greek, not a Latin abbreviation. C is then the lunate sigma. This distinguishes the mark from other mints. One should therefore look to find a city whose Greek name could be abbreviated as KOC. For a Balkan hoard Corinth comes to mind, only to be summarily dismissed, for there is no evidence to connect Leo with Corinth in any way nor is it likely that this fading outpost of empire would be graced with such a distinction. The excavations at Corinth seem not to have yielded a single specimen. KOC could equally well represent the first and last two letters of Cyzicus. This supposition has more in its favor, for Cyzicus continues an important mint throughout the fifth century. Cyzicus, however, seems sufficiently represented by the usual CVZ. Barring new evidence, it is hardly possible that the island of Cos is meant. It is a sufficiently valid rule of thumb that a Roman mint be located in a city of some major military or administrative importance, and the island does not meet this qualification for our period. Further, the minting cities in the East are all located within a surprisingly short radius from the capital and seem to have supplied all of the Eastern empire from within this small circle.

Assuming Corinth, Cos, and Cyzicus can be ruled out, let us consider the claims of Constantinople itself. It is the one mint we should have expected to see most fully represented, yet among Leo's coins it shows only 3 with a monogram reverse, 509, 510 with K (V 1) and 589 with K (V 2). The obverse legend on 510 can not be read, but 509 and 589 both show the distinctive fuller form of the legend with the imperial name in the genitive, DNLEOSPFAVG. Leo's monograms



Kf, Kf, Kf, Kf (V 1-4) should be read as abbreviations of LEOS or LEONS (LEONIS?). Assuming these are Latin forms, with Kf, Kf and Kf (V 5, 6, 8) we pass into Greek. The O at the top of the left perpendicular line has acquired a cross-bar beneath it which could be interpreted as omega and the monogram as standing for ΛΕΩΝ. It thus becomes possible to suggest that KOC stands for the name of the capital in its Greek form and marks a transition from Latin to Greek sometime in Leo's reign. Its introduction is a step in the Graecisation of the Empire. Y, which ends in the middle of Leo's reign, has no monograms with the omega and all its monogram issues show the longer and earlier forms of the legend. In the case of Zeno KOC again appears in conjunction with only those forms of monogram Kf and Kf (V I, 2) which have the omega. Indeed, ZENON, which probably stands for the Greek nominative in the legend, appears only with these forms (901, 902, 905, 912).

The clear differences between the styling of Leo's monogram issues with CON and the KOC series suggest that we have to do not with an arbitrary development but with an abrupt change brought about by some strong external factor. Here we are in the realm of pure speculation. Is it all possible to suppose that the very destructive fire which consumed Constantinople September 2, 465³⁰ destroyed part of the mint, requiring the importation of new die-cutters and prompting a new departure in the coinage? If so, may not the similarities with Nicomedian style suggest the source?³¹ The KOC coins may represent the output of a particular workshop within the particular minting arrangements of the capital.

The case for Constantinople, plausible though it may appear on other grounds, meets two objections: I) would not the force of tradition in favor of CON, the standard symbol for the mint of the capital, have prevailed over any newcomer, particularly since CON continues in use throughout the life of the Eastern Empire? and 2) the fact that Basiliscus shows both KOC (1023) and CON (CK 2284, 2285) also suggests at least the possibility of two distinct mints, if



³⁰ Our chief source is Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii 13. For details and supplemental references see Bury, pp. 321, 322.

³¹ The liaison between the two cities was in any case close. Wroth notes that coinage from Nicomedia and Cyzicus in the Byzantine period is closely modelled on that of the capital (*BMC*, p. c).

we do not accept the thesis of two distinct workshops within the confines of the capital. The present state of our evidence does not permit differentiations in date for the Basiliscan specimens. It is also worth noting that no Zeno coins with CON appear either in our hoard or in the CK listings.

The city of Cios lies on the southern coast of the Proportis on the Gulf of Myrlea, roughly equidistant from Cyzicus and Nicomedia. It was an important stop on the main road from Lydia to Constantinople as well as to Nicaea and the east.32 An old and proud city, it produced its own coinage until the reign of Saloninus. In the fifth century it returns to prominence as an independent metropolis in the ecclesiastical lists of bishoprics. A measure of its civil importance is gained by the fact that a detachment of Scholarii, or domestic guards, was stationed there until the time of Justinian.33 A number of its bishops in the fifth century are cited as active in church affairs.³⁴ Thus, Cios could be a center for a mint and, since the KOC coins are similar in style to those of Nicomedia, its die-cutters may easily have come from the latter city. The Greek form of the monogram on the KOC specimens would be more in keeping with the Greek hinterland than with the capital and its Roman associations and would fit in with the tradition of the Greek imperial series for which Cios is known. The coins of Zeno bearing no mint-mark might then be reserved for the capital and his KOC specimens assigned to Cios. The occasion for the re-opening of the mint must remain obscure. Military pressure on Nicomedia in the earlier years of Leo's reign from barbarian incursions is a possibility³⁵. One *caveat* should be given: how likely is it that Cios could abbreviate its mint designation to KOC, or, put another way, is the tradition of a mint-mark in three letters for this



³² W. M. Ramsay, The Historical Geography of Asia Minor, London, 1890, p. 180.

³³ Theophanes, Bonn ed., p. 236.

Theosebius took part as bishop of Cios at the Council of Ephesus in 431 (Mansi, J. D., Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, reprint, Paris, 1901 ff., vol. IV, 1270) and, if Ramsay is correct (op. cit., p. 428), a certain Julianus, whom he supposes to be bishop of Cios, was present at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 and appears in 458 as one of the correspondents of the Emperor Leo. See also V. Schultze, Altchristliche Städte und Landschaften, vol. II.1, p. 329.

³⁵ See infra, note 37.

period strong enough to overcome the difficulty involved in the removal of the iota? Thus, because of the nest of problems connected with the proper assignment of the KOC coins, we prefer to postpone any final judgment pending the appearance of additional evidence.

* * *

The catalogue is arranged chronologically by reign, but does not list the issues necessarily by order within the reign itself. The internal order is in question primarily for the reign of Leo because of the variety of the reverse types and obverse legends. On the usual numismatic assumption that the issue with the fullest range and form of obverse legend within the type should precede, this honor would then be bestowed on the "lion" series (418-508). The same assumption would require KOC to be late in the reign, for these coins almost all show simply DNLEO. The last issue will be the "two emperors enthroned," represented in V by a single specimen (887), the other Augustus being presumably Leo's grandson of the same name, coopted in October, 473.36 If we may draw an inference from the small number of "lion" types with the short obverse legend DNLEO (5 out of 91 coins), the series may have been minted only to the beginning of the DNLEO obverse and then gave way. Possibly the date of its demise is the same as the introduction of KOC, which has the short form almost exclusively. The issues with the Latin form of the monogram N. N. N. (V 1-4), seem to stop at the same point, with only I coin (524) showing the short form out of 156 pieces. Leo's "emperor and captive" series has as its largest obverse form DNLEOPERPET. It then passes through the two genitive forms of the name, LEONS and LEOS, and shows many coins with the short form also. We may suppose it begins shortly after the DNLEOPERPETAVG and runs well through the reign.³⁷ The later issues show the distinctive mint-mark of a star or cross in the left



³⁶ See note on coin 887. Bury, p. 323, note 1, remarks that "coins issued at the beginning of Leo's reign show Marcian's head, the legend being merely altered to DN LEO PERPET AVG."

³⁷ An "emperor and captive" reverse usually implies a victory of some kind or the hope for one. Leo's military ventures were singularly unsuccessful. The one exception appears to be a victory in Pontus over an unspecified barbarian people somewhat early in the reign, mentioned in certain episcopal

field and CN in the exergue. The "empress" series appears to have the same range of obverse legend and may be considered contemporaneous. The monogram issues begin shortly after the "lion" types. They range from what appears to be an abbreviation of the PERPETAVG (seen as PT in 528 and 531) through a heavy concentration of obverses with the genitive down to the short forms.³⁸

In giving the monograms of the emperors, we have listed a larger number of varieties than has previously been done, although surely those with only one or two examples reflect not an official change but the whim of the individual artist. The distinctions may possibly prove useful to future research if more examples of the rarer forms should be found. We append tables showing the correspondences between our numbering of the varieties of monogram found in V and that given in other works:

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W I ⋈ = CK 7
V 2 ⋈ = Y 358
V 4 ⋈ = Y 359-361
V 5 ⋈ = Y 362, 363 = CK 2 = Pearce and Wood, seventh on p. 275
V 7 ⋈ = Y 364, 365 = CK 6 = Pearce and Wood, second on p. 275
V 8 ⋈ = Y 366, 367 Var.
V 9 ⋈ = Y 368, 369 = CK 4 = Pearce and Wood, first on p. 275 = Sab. 21 = BMC, fourth on p. 326
V 10 ⋈ = CK 5 = Pearce and Wood, ninth on p. 275
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letters of the time. Texts in Mansi, J. D., Sacrorum conciliorum nova — collectio, vol. VII, 581, 583, 600, cited by Bury, p. 322, note 5. The evidence at present does not permit a more accurate designation. Although the date can not be determined, it is tempting to connect the "emperor and captive" issue with the Pontic victory, particularly as the only two mints to strike the type are Constantinople and Nicomedia, the latter being close to the battle-field.

³⁸ The clearer and more copious evidence of V prompts this revision in substance of the arrangement tentatively offered in Y, pp. 144, 145. Future examples in which more mint-marks may be legible will sharpen present distinctions, no doubt, but we feel will not seriously alter the basic pattern.



16 Descriptive Analysis

V I = Y 380-396 = Sab. 23**LEO** $V_2 \aleph = Y_{397-405} = CK_1$ $V_4 = Y_{416-419} Var.$ $V_5 \not = BMC$, eighth on p. 326 $V8 \mathcal{L} = CK 2$ $V \circ \aleph i = CK iA$ $V I \not \mathbf{k} = CK I = Sab. 24 Var.$ ZENO $V_2 = BMC$, ninth on p. 326 $V_3 \mathcal{M} = CK_2$ $V_5 \aleph = CK_4$ $V I \mathcal{L} = CK 2$ **BASILISCUS BASILISCUS** V I 降 = CK I (under Basiliscus) AND MARCUS

DISTRIBUTION OF MONOGRAMS BY MINT IN Y

MARCIAN VI R Constantinople, Nicomedia, CHES

V 2 Constantinople

V 7 ເ∾ Nicomedia

V 9 🎮 Nicomedia, CHES

V 10 ເ Constantinople, Nicomedia

V 12, 13 🎋, 📉 Nicomedia

LEO VI & Constantinople, Cyzicus

V 2 K Constantinople, Thessalonica, Cyzicus

V I N = CK 4 (under Basiliscus)

V I R = Y 502 = CK I

V 3, 4 N, L Thessalonica

V6 % KOC

V 8 ん Constantinople V 9 N Thessalonica

ZENO V 1, 2 1, 1, KOC

V 3, 4 Å, 况 Cyzicus V 5 ᢝ Thessalonica

BASILISCUS VI KOC

AELIA ZENONIS LIBIUS SEVERUS



METROLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Metrological analysis of the Volo hoard is particularly rewarding. The series of 968 Æ 4 coins which are fully described and weighed is a mine of data far surpassing in completeness anything previously available. A total of 956 of these coins can be used in the metrological analysis. This excludes from the study four coins of Libius Severus which were struck in the West in the period A.D. 461-465, one illegible Roman coin which can not be attributed with any certainty to a specific period, and seven pieces with illegible monograms which may be attributed to Leo or Zeno or Aelia Zenonis. Careful statistical study of the remaining 956 pieces used in the frequency tables reveals that they fall into three major classes: first, there are 810 specimens from the reigns of Valentinian II through Leo; second, 36 specimens from the reign of Basiliscus; and third, 110 specimens from the reign of Zeno. Thus the hoard covers a crucial period in Roman history, from the latter half of the fourth century to the reform coinage of Anastasius I and makes it possible to follow the major variations of the bronze coinage during the Völkerwanderung from the contents of a single hoard.

Before entering upon the body of the metrological analysis, however, it is necessary to put forth a few words of caution. Bronze coinage in general, and more particularly when the weight of the individual specimens is so small, will show a greater variation in weight than would be expected in the case of silver or gold. The bronze currency was always produced al-marco, and it must be doubted that there was ever an effective system of adjustment to maintain the weight standards. Since the individual coins were of very low value, the cost of systematic weight control would have cut sharply into the profits of the mint. In addition, the fact that the coins were fiduciary in character would have lessened the importance of weight as a factor in determining their value. It is more likely that there were small variations of weight from reign to reign which were without major economic significance. The state had seized complete control of the issuance of all currency, including the fiduciary bronze coinage, by the end of the third century. Such currency, of course, was highly overvalued at the mint and in the market



place, and tremendous profits must have accrued to the mint from its manufacture.³⁹ We can perhaps point out some of the smaller weight changes which seem evident from the coins themselves and even suggest some probable reasons for these changes, but any attempt to present an adequate scientific description of the history of the bronze currency from the evidence of a single hoard would be illusory.

There is, indeed, another caveat which should be carefully considered in the statistical metrological study of minimi. All who have dealt with hoards containing minimi have been struck by the high incidence of clipping normally present. In our discussion of Y we treated the various explanations possible and concluded that, "Clipping, then, would seem an integral part of a new and poor system of production rather than a device for the conservation of metal supply."40 This conclusion, which attributed the peculiar evidence of mass clipping to the general decay in minting procedures, appears to be further substantiated in this hoard. Once again the evidence of clipping is on a massive scale. Naturally this would affect the frequency curves to a certain degree. It is impossible to 30 Cf. S. Bolin, State and Currency in the Roman Empire to 300 A.D., Stockholm, 1958, pp. 102-103. We need not resort to Bolin's thesis regarding the "natural range of variation" of so-called "charged" coins in the case of fiduciary coins which were so overvalued that the intrinsic value of the metal played a very small part in their acceptability in the market. Only insofar as a given weight of bronze was legally equivalent to a given weight of gold would the value of bronze coinage vary with its weight. The actual quantity of bronze currency as compared with the needs for such currency would have affected the convertibility of the fiduciary currency into gold to a greater degree than weight. If there was too much bronze on the market to be absorbed by the economy, its convertibility would have fallen. Insofar as the quantity of bronze currency may be said to be a natural concomitant of its weight, the weight of the individual pieces may be said to reflect the convertibility into gold, provided a constant rate of absorption into the economy is postulated. Blake, pp. 87, 88, has made an interesting remark on the overvaluation of copper-bronze currency which was maintained during the early empire: "The copper-bronze currency, however, was quite a different matter. During the earlier empire it had been heavily overvalued, as compared to the gold and silver coinage. I suspect, though I cannot prove it, that the emperors intentionally increased the amount of copper in circulation in order to extricate themselves from their financial difficulties, and that certain measures such as the issue of the so-called Antoninianus, has as one of its basic aims the devaluation of the copper currency, as Hilliger asserts." Bolin stresses that the profits from the mint must have been very great.



40 Y, p. 144.

segregate the clipped from the unclipped specimens in the hoard with any confidence. The crude workmanship which is evident in the production of the coins and the consequent lack of uniformity in their appearance make any very exact distinctions meaningless. The results of such haphazard clipping on the form of the frequency curve, however, can be predicted. All those characteristics which result from wear and oxidation would be exaggerated. It should, therefore, be expected that the mode, or point of highest concentration, would fall below the average weight and that the coefficient of variation would be quite high.

Fortunately, since the publication of Y there are data with which to make a direct comparison. For this purpose we shall add the information from that hoard to that derived from V. Many of the conclusions drawn from that study are confirmed in V. This is particularly true of the deductions based upon the frequency table.

WEIGHTS	Yale Hoard	Valentinian II through Arcadius	Theodosius II through Valentinian III	Valentinian II* through Valentinian III	Marcian	Pre-Leo**	Leo	Pre-Zeno***	Basiliscus***	Zeno
0.06-0.23								_		2
0.24-0.41	8	I	5	6	2	8	10	18	2	16
0.42-0.59	32	I	24	25	6	31	52	83	3	42
0.60-0.77	91	3	48	51	12	63	119	182	15	21
o <i>.7</i> 8–0.95	78	13	52	65	25	90	125	215	8	18
0.96-1.13	73	7	41	48	2 6	74	105	179	5	9
1.14-1.31	51	10	18	28	16	44	44	88	3	I
1.32-1.49	28	3	8	II	10	21	16	37		
1.50–1.67	6		3	3	I	4	3	7		
1.68-1.85	4						I	I		
TOTALS	371	38	199	237	98	335	475	810	36	110

^{*} This constitutes the sum of the previous columns of the Volo hoard.

^{****} In this column have been included not only the coins of Basiliscus alone, but those of his wife, Aelia Zenonis, and of the joint reign of Basiliscus and Marcus.





^{**} This is the sum of all of the coins issued before the reign of Leo in this hoard.

*** This is the sum of all of the coins issued before the reign of Zeno in this hoard.

**** In this column have been included not only the coins of Basiliscus

Before proceeding to deductions which may be made on the basis of the frequency table, a word should be said about the choice of the step interval. The reasoning behind the choice of an interval of 0.18 grams remains exactly the same as in the case of Y. It is unlikely that the Roman mint ever adjusted even its precious metal coinage to a finer degree than 0.095 grams or one-half carat. This appears to be the smallest weight in the ancient world which was directly determined. In the case of al-marco issues of fiduciary bronze it is unlikely that the Roman mint would have been aware of any variations of less than a full carat. A table based upon a smaller step interval yields a multi-modal distribution because it applies a greater degree of accuracy than was exercised by the officials at the mint. A step interval of one carat seems to yield the best results.

In preparing the frequency table for V the coins are divided into appropriate chronological groups. Cumulative sub-totals of all the coins through the reigns of Valentinian III, Marcian, and Leo are included, so that the development of the larger picture of fifth century bronze currency may not be obscured. In addition, of course, as long as the series is homogeneous, the larger the body of data the more exact can be the conclusions which are derived from it.

There is one feature of the frequency table which must be explained. The distributions are normal for all periods save that from Valentinian II to Arcadius. For this segment of the hoard there is a bi-modal distribution. We must, however, remember that only thirty-eight coins are involved in this particular series and that clipping was very common. The condition and uncertain attributions of some of the pieces in Y make comparison in a rigid sense with the frequency table of that hoard impossible. Y contains only thirty-seven coins which were probably issued during the same interval. The interpretation of the data presented by Y can only be tentative because the number of variables is too great. It is possible that this bi-modal distribution results from striking the earlier issues of Æ 4 coinage at a slightly heavier weight than the later issues. This may also be due to clipping, which followed a specific pattern to reduce the weight of the older coins, or to other, unknown factors. All that can be said on the basis of the evidence now before us is that



the coinage of the period from Valentinian II through Arcadius does not represent a homogeneous series. It will require further metrological and statistical analysis as more information comes to light from new finds. In the interests of clarity we have included a frequency table containing the information derived from Y and V.

WEIGHTS		YALE HOARD	VOLO HOARD	TOTAL
0.06-0.23				
0.24-0.41			I	I
0.42-0.59		I	I	2
0.60-0.77		6	3	9
0.78-0.95		4	13	17
0.96-1.13		8	7	15
1.14-1.31		12	10	22
1.32-1.49		5	3	8
1.50-1.67		I		I
1.68-1.85				
	TOTALS	37	38	<i>7</i> 5

If we place this unresolved metrological problem to one side for the moment and survey the broader picture, certain facts are immediately evident. The modal step for all the coins in V before the reign of Basiliscus, with the sole exception of those dating from the reign of Marcian, is between 0.78 and 0.95 grams. The coins of Marcian are only slightly heavier, the modal step being between 0.96 and 1.13 grams. Since Y contained coins through the reign of Leo, the two hoards are directly comparable, but the coins in Y are in much worse condition than those in the Volo deposit. They had evidently been in circulation for a longer period of time before being placed in a hoard or had received much worse treatment. V, on the other hand, contains specimens which, from the standpoint of wear, are in fairly good condition. They had very likely been collected over a longer period of time. An obvious conclusion to be drawn from the data included in the frequency table is that the Æ 4 coinage for the period from Arcadius to Zeno forms a homogeneous series which was perhaps struck very slightly heavier during the reign of Marcian. This confirms the finding made in the case of Y,



save that the slight increase in weight during the reign of Marcian was not immediately evident in that case because of the paucity of coins dating from that reign included in the deposit.

New evidence from V in the case of the coinages of Zeno and the usurper Basiliscus, who intervened between the first and second reigns of Zeno, permits further deductions. It is impossible to determine which minimi of Zeno are derived from his first reign (474–475) and which from his second (477-491). Possibly the four coins of Zeno which have reverse types other than a monogram and seem to be slightly heavier (1003-1006) were struck in Zeno's first reign, and the more common monogram types, which are generally lighter, were issued during the second reign. This is conjectural, although it explains the greater rarity of iconographic types and the differing weights. We must not, however, place too much importance on the difference in weight between the two series because this in itself may be illusory. There are too few coins of the iconographic types to make any positive statements. We may safely assume that the bulk of the coinage of Zeno represented in this hoard dates from the second reign. Though Zeno enjoyed the imperial dignity from February o, 474 in conjunction with his child, Leo II, it was only after November 17, 474 that he was sole emperor. 41 By January 9, 475 he had already been forced to flee and Basiliscus was in control of the capital. Thus the first period of sole reign for Zeno lasted less than two months. The total reign of Basiliscus lasted twenty months, from January 475 to August 476. It is improbable that the first reign of Zeno, which was only one-tenth as long as the reign of Basiliscus, saw the issuance of a greater number of coins. Since V shows 110 coins for Zeno as opposed to only 36 struck during the reign of Basiliscus, we may infer that the bulk of the coinage of Zeno derives from his second reign of seventeen years. We can not date the deposit of the hoard exactly, since the bronze coinage itself is undated, but it may well be that it was buried quite some time before the

⁴¹ Bury, pp. 389-391. The child emperor Leo II had conferred the imperial dignity on his father and the coinage was issued in both names until the sole reign of Zeno. See J. Sabatier, Description générale des monnaies byzantines frappées sous les empereurs d'Orient depuis Arcadius jusqu'à la prise de Constantinople par Mahomet II, reprint, Graz, 1955, Pls. VII, nos. 15, 16 and 17. VIII, no. 13.



death of Zeno in 491. One can only say that the evidence points to a deposit made between August 476 and April 491. If we allow a certain length of time for the accumulation of Zeno's 110 specimens A.D. 480 would seem a reasonable guess.

If the deductions just made can be accepted, the next group of coins to be studied is the coinage of Basiliscus, Aelia Zenonis, and the joint issues of Basiliscus and Marcus. The pieces falling into this category may be dated exactly to the twenty months between January 475 and August 476. There is a noticeable drop in weight, reflected in the modal step, which falls between 0.60 and 0.77 grams. This decrease in weight is most obviously mirrored in the decline in the average weight of the coinage to 0.79 grams, the lightest yet encountered in the history of minimi. Basiliscus apparently took the first major step in the process of lightening the minimi below the level set during the reign of Arcadius.

The next phase, which covers the IIO specimens from the reign of Zeno, reveals a continuing decline in weight. We have presumed that most of these IIO coins date from August 476 to April 49I. The modal step now falls to its lowest point, 0.42 to 0.59 grams, and the average weight reaches the nadir at 0.62 grams.

Thus the general outline of the history of the minimi may be inferred from the frequency tables, but a closer analysis of the frequency curves based upon these tables is necessary before the material can be treated with any degree of exactness.

	W. I. D. WO. I. D. D.	N	M	Mo	Mdn	MD	σ	V
_	YALE HOARD	371	.92	·75	.91	.24	.29	31.72
А	Valentinian II through Arcadius	38	1.00	.89	.99	.20	.24	24.40
VOLO HOARD	Theodosius II through Valentinian III	199	.86	.83	.86	.20	.26	30.11
VC	Valentinian II through Valentinian III	237	.88	.86	.88	.21	.25	28.41



	YALE HOARD		M	Мо	Mdn	MD	σ	V
	Marcian Pre-Leo Leo Pre-Zeno	371	.92	·75	.91	.24	.29	31.72
VOLO HOARD	Marcian	98	.98	.98	.99	.22	.26	26.53
	Pre-Leo	335	.91	.89	.91	.22	.27	29.66
	Leo	475	.87	.82	.85	.19	.26	29.55
	Pre-Zeno	810	.88	.87	.88	.21	.26	29.43
	Basiliscus	36	.79	.71	.76	.18	.22	28.34
	Zeno	110	.62	.52	.58	.19	.24	39.03

Naturally, the same principles are adhered to in preparing this tabular analysis as in the frequency table itself. The curves are directly dependent upon the frequency tables, and the table given is merely a statistical analysis of the curves. Standard abbreviations have been used to indicate the various columns: N =the number of coins in a specific group; M =the mean or average weight; M =the mode or point of highest concentration; M =the median or midpoint in the array of weights; M =the mean or average deviation of the individual coins from the average weight; $\sigma =$ the standard deviation; and V =the coefficient of variation. The mean, mode, median, mean deviation, and standard deviation are calculated in grams, and the coefficient of variation, which inversely indicates the accuracy of minting, in terms of percent.

Questions of methodology have already been treated in other works.⁴² Certain inferences, however, may be made from the table just given. The theoretical weight at which any series of coins is struck must lie between the average weight and the sum of the average weight plus the standard deviation. Thus, in the case of the Yale hoard we found that the theoretical weight of the minimi

⁴² See particularly G. Mickwitz, "Die Systeme des römischen Silbergeldes im IV. Jhdt. n. Christus. Ein Beispiel zur Anwendung der variationsstatistischen Methode in der Numismatik," in Societas Scientiarum Fennica (Finska Vetenskaps Societeten), Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, VI, Abh. 2 (1932), pp. 38-67, as well as G. F. Hill, "The Frequency Table," Numismatic Chronicle, 5th Series, IV (1924), pp. 76-84, and H. L. Adelson, Light Weight Solidi and Byzantine Trade During the Sixth and Seventh Centuries. Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 138, New York, 1957, pp. 36-58. An example of the application of this technique to minimi appears in our study of Y.



had to fall between 0.92 and 1.21 grams. A review of all the data seemed to indicate a theoretical weight of about 1.18 grams, with 276 minimi being struck from the pound of raw metal. Once again, however, great caution must be exercised, for the Roman moneyer probably made no distinctions in bronze coinage finer than the carat. The theoretical weight of this series could just as easily be 1.14 grams, with 288 minimi being struck from the pound of raw metal. It is inconceivable that a Roman moneyer could distinguish objects differing from one another by only 0.04 grams. We may logically suppose, however, that the theoretical weight of the coins was a specific unit of the Roman system of weights. The scruple, a unit of six carats, in the Roman system, weighs 1.14 grams. There are 288 scruples in the pound. With this in mind, we would suggest that the theoretical weight of the minimi issued during the period from Theodosius II through the reign of Leo, with the exception of those issued during the reign of Marcian, was one scruple in weight. This involves a revision of our findings on a very small scale from Y, but, more importantly, it does some violence to the principles upon which a frequency table is used in numismatics. In the case of Y the coefficient of variation was so great that we felt it more likely that the higher figure of 1.18 grams was more accurate. In actual fact, such a distinction would be meaningless because the difference is too small. Either figure could be accepted from the evidence of Y. The second objection is more serious, for it involves placing the theoretical weight one or two hundredths of a gram above the highest point in the range possible for the coins from the reigns of Theodosius II and Valentinian III, as well as in the series from the total period from Valentinian II through Valentinian III and in the reign of Leo. Theoretically, it is improbable that the coins in those series weighed more than 1.12 or 1.13 grams when issued. The fact that thirty-eight coins from the period from Valentinian II through Arcadius have been included in the total of 237 covering the reigns from Valentinian II to Valentinian III makes no appreciable difference in the results. Omitting these pieces does not alter the situation or eliminate the difficulty. All that can be said is that the picture given by 810 coins from the reign of Valentinian II to the first reign of Zeno seems to show a theoretical weight of 1.14



grams or one scruple. Perhaps the 136 coins from the reigns of Valentinian II through Arcadius and the reign of Marcian have compensated somewhat for the lightness of the remaining 674 pieces in the hoard from the period preceding the reign of Zeno.

This is not a completely satisfactory method for solving the difficulty. One is merely playing with figures in order to get a specifically desired results. We must allow the facts to speak for themselves. At certain periods the minimi were struck slightly heavier and at others slightly lighter. This conclusion can not be avoided. The differences, however, were negligible and even undetectable to the average citizen. They merely reflect imperial ordinances which stipulated that fewer or more coins be issued from the pound of raw metal. Perhaps during the reigns of Theodosius II and Valentinian III, as well as during that of Leo, as many as 300 coins were obtained from the pound of metal. Each piece would then have a theoretical weight of 1.00 grams (five and a half carats). This accords with the statistical data. In the reign of Marcian, however, minimi were issued at 1.18 grams theoretical weight (just above six carats) and 276 pieces were obtained from the pound of raw metal. These are limits within which the Roman moneyer might operate and still remain secure from discovery by the public. All coins would circulate together as if they were of a uniform weight of 1.14 grams and as if there were 288 pieces to the pound.

The solution just proposed is that there were minor fluctuations in the weight of the minimi which reflected governmental monetary policy. These fluctuations were not immediately evident or even discernible by the citizenry and were therefore of limited economic significance by themselves. They would naturally escape the notice of contemporary writers. This conclusion was not evident from Y because of uncertainty in some of the attributions. It would seem, however, a necessary result of the metrological analysis.

The major change in the weight of the minimi, we have seen, occurred in the reign of Basiliscus. The theoretical weight of the individual coins then fell to about 0.97 grams. Perhaps it was even as low as 0.94 grams (five carats), but the statistical data seem to indicate a slightly higher weight. In either case, the difference between the theoretical weight of the coins as issued from the mint and the



weight at which the public had accepted the earlier coinage was now clearly visible. Most of the coins were more than two-tenths of a gram below the old theoretical weight, while only very few specimens approximated the established standard. Specimens from the reign of Zeno show an even greater drop to about 0.84 grams (four and a half carats), with 384 coins struck from the pound of raw metal. The public would now be fully aware of the change which had been introduced, and governmental recognition of the changed standard would become an economic necessity if complete repudiation were not to follow in the market place.

The fluctuation in the weight of the minimi now becomes clear. It remains for us to explain the monetary policy which caused these fluctuations and to relate the entire picture to the general economic history of the fifth century. The evidence for the period preceding the reign of Arcadius is somewhat confusing, but it would seem that during at least a part of the last quarter of the fourth century the minimi were struck at 1.18 grams theoretical weight. This agrees with the literary evidence, for in the year 396, the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius ordered that twenty-five pounds of bronze should be held equal to a solidus.43 This constitution was included in the Theodosian Code published in 438. A Novella of Valentinian III of 445 states specifically that the solidus might be bought from the collectarii (i.e., the gild of moneychangers), for 7,200 nummi and sold for 7,000.44 No significant change occurred in the weights of the gold or bronze coins in the period 396-445, and it seems clear that the emperor was simply trying to maintain a fixed value for the solidus in terms of bronze coins. Gold coinage values in terms of bronze were not allowed to fluctuate freely in the market, and the margin between the purchase and sale price of solidi by the collectarii was fixed by imperial edict. Thus the profit margin of the moneychanger was regulated by the government. Economic conditions in the market might dictate that the gap between purchase and sale price be made wider or smaller, and the collectarii might even petition for such a



⁴³ C. Theod., XI, 21, 2. Cf. C. Just., X, 29, 1, which repeats this constitution exactly save for the omission of quinque after viginti. In the course of the argument below we shall date this change.

⁴⁴ Nov. Valent., XVI. See Y, p. 151, note 26, for our discussion of this text.

change. Indeed, we know that in 384/5 they did make such a petition.⁴⁵ The demand for solidi and minimi and the quantity of these coins available in the market would change, and as a result the purchase price for the moneychangers would have to reflect the economic variations within the limits prescribed by law. One is clearly before a case of governmental intervention in the operation of the market to control currency values. That there were constant difficulties arising from this governmental interference is clear from the number of laws issued relating to it.

If the rate of 7,000–7,200 nummi to the solidus is taken as prevailing for the first half of the fifth century, and if the edict of Honorius and Arcadius remained in force, then a theoretical weight of 1.14 grams with 288 coins from the pound of raw metal is required for minimi. Both premises seem to be reasonable in the light of the evidence. The coinage of the period from Arcadius through the reign of Valentinian III fits this system well. It seems likely that the action taken by Honorius and Arcadius establishing the mint ratio of gold to bronze at 1:1800 was in the nature of a reform connected with a lightening of the bronze currency. The confused picture yielded by the frequency table for the coinage of the period before the death of Arcadius may be the natural concomitant of this change. In any event, it is clear that this was a period of financial and fiscal difficulty for the imperial government. Large tribute payments were made to the Huns and the other barbarians. At the same time the tax structure was completed and applied rigorously. By dint of these efforts the government managed to retain solvency and to maintain currency values.

A clear change occurred in the financial position of the government during the reign of Marcian. Perhaps the resolute quality of his control of the governmental policy towards the barbarians, as well as the evident weakness of the western rulers and the machinations of Justa Grata Honoria, induced the Huns to turn their attention from Constantinople to Ravenna and Gaul. Marcian stopped the enormous tribute payments which had been made to the Huns under the various treaty arrangements and managed to accumulate in the treasury more than 100,000 pounds of gold, a sum which excited Letter of Symmachus in MGH, A. A., VI, pp. 303, 304.



the cupidity of Attila the Hun.⁴⁶ The emperor managed to do this while conducting the affairs of the empire in such fashion that not only did he refuse to institute new taxes but even removed old ones such as the *follis*, and also remitted arrears in taxes. His reign was later regarded as a golden age in which all things were well.⁴⁷ This new-found prosperity permitted the emperor to reduce the profits from the operation of the mint and to strike the minimi slightly heavier, perhaps at 1.18 grams or 276 coins from the pound of metal. Such a policy would have reduced the number of coins issued and at the same would have increased their value. In essence, the minimi appear to have been restored to the standard prevalent before 396.

This healthy state of government finances was not long-lived. Marcian was succeeded by Leo. The Byzantine authors have given Leo a reputation for rapacity and avarice which is perhaps somewhat undeserved: it may reflect the tightening of fiscal policy in times of need. The great unsuccessful expedition against the Vandals in Africa and the difficulties which ensued upon the murder of Aspar created a need for large sums of ready cash. Under the circumstances the government chose to gain a greater profit from the issuance of fiduciary bronze by reducing the weight once again to the standard set by Arcadius and Honorius. By this measure a greater number of coins could be obtained from a given weight of bronze.

These, then, are the fluctuations of the bronze currency from 375 to 474. There is a cyclical quality in these minor shifts which only becomes evident when a large mass of minimi from a single hoard becomes available for detailed study. The facts are quite clear, but a convincing explanation for these cyclical trends must remain conjectural in the absence of literary evidence or a complete series of price indices. In view of the paucity of certainly dated papyri from the fifth century, such a price index would appear to be beyond hope. The fluctuations of weight in the case of the minimi, however, do reflect governmental policy and are not mere chance. For reasons



⁴⁶ Ioannes Lydus, De Magistratibus Populi Romani, III, 43 (Bonn ed., p. 236): μετά γοῦν Θεοδόσιον καὶ Μαρκιανὸν τὸν μέτριον ἐλθών ὁ Λέων καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον εὐρών ὂν ᾿Αττίλας ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης πολέμιος λαμβάνειν ἔμελλεν (ἦν δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰς χιλίας ἐκατοντάδας τοῦ χρυσίου λιτρῶν).

⁴⁷ Bury, pp. 236, 237, who cites the ancient sources. The later chronicler, Theophanes, speaks of the reign of Marcian as a "golden age" (Bonn ed., p. 167).

which are obscure today, but which nonetheless must have been evident to the Roman officials of the time, minor adjustments were made in the weight of the bronze currency. One such adjustment, as we have seen, was made in the reign of Marcian, and though we have considered a possible explanation, the evidence is insufficient for absolute certainty.

Apart from the brief return to a slightly heavier bronze coin in the years 450-457, we may judge the bronze currency of the period 396-475 to have been issued at 1.14 grams and 288 minimi to the Roman pound. It is possible that the theoretical weight was slightly higher, but there were no major changes during those years.

After 475 the picture changed abruptly. Perhaps the short reign of Basiliscus, continuing precariously for twenty months, exhausted what little may have been in the treasury at the time of Leo's death. The drain on the financial resources of the state must have been very great throughout the years following the death of Leo because of continued Ostrogothic pressure. Under the circumstances a weight reduction of the fiduciary currency would have yielded a significant return. It could not have solved the fiscal problems of a government which was so largely dependent upon tax receipts in kind, but it would have had an ameliorating effect. At this point, if the same relationship of 7,000–7,200 nummi to the solidus held true, twenty pounds of bronze would have purchased one gold piece. This is a crucial change, and it can now be dated on numismatic grounds to the twenty-month reign of Basiliscus.

The text of the former edict of Honorius and Arcadius as preserved in the *Theodosian Code* records the older evaluation at twenty-five pounds of bronze to the solidus. When this same constitution was repeated in the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, the valuation was changed to twenty pounds of bronze. Since the *Theodosian Code* was published in February 438 to take effect as of January 1, 439, the change must have been introduced after this date. No change is indicated in the later *Novellae* of Valentinian III or Majorian. In the preserved second Code of Justinian which was completed in 534, however, the change

49 See note 43.



⁴⁸ Cf. J. B. Bury, History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene, London, 1889, I, p. 253.

was already in force. The first Code of Justinian, which is unfortunately lost, was prepared in 529 by a commission of ten with very wide authority. They were empowered to remove obsolete or unnecessary constitutions, to reconcile contradictory laws, and even to make other necessary changes in texts and in the order of the enactments. Similar powers were given to Trebonianus, Dorotheus, and the three assisting advocates who worked on the second Code, which is extant. This is clear from the extant introductory constitutions to the various Codes. It seems evident, therefore, that the change occurred some time between the publication of the *Theodosian Code* and the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*. The monetary history of the later Roman Empire permits us to date the change to 475/6. Trebonianus and his aides simply reconciled the apparent contradiction by inserting the new valuation into the older constitution.

The story of the minimi does not end here. A fragment from the work of Malchus preserved in Suidas tells us that during the early part of the reign of Zeno the treasury had reached such a low ebb that nothing was left in it. Whatever Leo had managed to accumulate after the Vandalic expedition and before his death had been quickly exhausted by Zeno in largesses.⁵⁰ Even if this passage be dated to

50 Malchus, frag. 5 (Bonn ed., p. 275): τὸ δὲ κοινὸν τότε εἰς πᾶσαν ἀπορίαν κατῆλθεν, ὡς μηδὲν ἔχειν ὑπόλοιπον, ἄ τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ ταμείῳ Λέων κατέλιπεν άποθνήσκων ύπο Ζήνωνος ταχύ εκεκένωτο πάντα, πολλά μεν χαριζομένου τοις φίλοις, ώς ἔτυχεν, οὐκ ὄντος δὲ ἀκριβοῦς, ὧστε αὐτὰ γινώσκειν, εἴ πη καὶ ἄλλως κλέπτοιντο. Bury, p. 401, dates the text to 477 without any further comment. C. Müller, Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, Paris, 1868, IV, p. 116, repeats the same passage from Malchus, but he dates the event to 475, relying on the authority of Tillemont that the Praetorian Praefect Erythrius, whose activities are discussed in this passage, was in office in 473 and later, and that he was probably removed from office shortly before the return of Zeno. O. Seeck, Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, IV, col. 602, holds that Erythrius was still in office during the first reign of Zeno because the passage from Malchus states specifically, Ἐρύθριος ἔπαρχος γεγονώς ἐπὶ Ζήνωνος. In fact, the only constitutions addressed to Erythrius date from 466 and 472, during the reign of Leo I. See, ed. Paul Krueger, Codex Iustinianus in Corpus Iuris Civilis, ed. Th. Mommsen, Berlin, 1954, II, p. 507. Erythrius was apparently succeeded in office by Dioscorus sometime in the year 472, if we may judge from the constitutions in the Corpus Iuris Civilis. Also see E. Stein, Histoire du Bas-Empire, Paris, 1949, II, p. 66. Cf. Malchus 88 B (Bonn ed., p. 263): ὅτι τὸν ἄρχοντα Αίγύπτου ἐπὶ μόλις χρυσίου λίτραις ν΄ ἐκπεμπόμενον, ὧσπερ εὐδαιμονεστέρας γενομένης η πρόσθεν, έπι πεντακοσίαις όμοῦ λίτραις ἀπέστειλεν. This passage is repeated in Müller, Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, IV, p. 120. It is dated by Müller to



the first reign of Zeno, there can have been no substantial improvement during the tenure of Basiliscus. With an empty treasury the Emperor was forced to resort to all possible sources of revenue. The manipulation of fiduciary coinage yielded still greater mint profits than before. The average weight of the minimi now fell to 0.62 grams, and we may conjecture that the theoretical weight was only 0.84 grams. Approximately 384 coins were now struck from the pound of raw metal. The decline of the nummus, introduced in the fourth century and serving as virtually the only small change during almost the entire fifth century, was now complete. It remained for Anastasius, a ruler of better financial ability with a sense of strict economy, to institute reforms very early in his reign. An entirely new system of bronze currency with some large so-called folles of forty nummi each and an average weight of almost seventeen grams came on the scene.

Certain conclusions may be drawn from the reconstruction of the history of the minimi. It seems obvious at a glance that the imperial government was well aware of the profits to be secured by tampering with the fiduciary bronze currency. The profit to the mint from the massive issues of minimi cannot have been inconsiderable, and in times of greatest urgency the weight of the coin was lowered and more coinage struck from a pound of metal. In times of relative prosperity there was some attempt to maintain a respectable fiduciary coinage. As is true in the case of most coinages, however, the imperial government was unable to resist temptation, and the general trend

477 without comment. The passage is questionable because of the improbability that the income from Egypt increased from fifty pounds of gold to 500 pounds of gold in any short period of time. Such a ten-fold increase would have been reflected in other works of the period, but there is no supporting evidence. Bury and the other modern historians have simply omitted any reference to it. Ioannes Lydus, De Magistratibus Populi Romani, III, 45 (Bonn ed., pp. 238, 239), says specifically that the state was on the verge of financial ruin from the death of Leo to the accession of Anastasius because Zeno forced the magistrates to purchase peace from the barbarians. John Lydus was a contemporary of Anastasius and Malchus, and it may be safely assumed that he would have known of any such great increase in wealth.

b1 Blake, pp. 84-97, stresses the financial acumen of the emperor. See also Ioannes Lydus, *De Magistratibus Populi Romani*, III, 45 (Bonn ed., pp. 238, 239), who claims that Anastasius saved the state from virtual ruin. Bury, pp. 441-447, discusses the financial policy of Anastasius in laudatory terms.



was towards lightening the coinage. This is particularly true after the reign of Leo. We may also note that the increase in the number of coins struck from a pound of metal probably meant an increase in the total number issued. It is unlikely that the imperial government restricted the mints in any way in terms of the quantity struck, since larger issues meant momentarily greater profits. As in all things, however, there was a day of reckoning, and that day came during the reign of Basiliscus, after the major force of the Völkerwanderung had spent itself and the West was lost. The larger issues of bronze of reduced weight must have lost some of their acceptability in terms of conversion into gold at the fixed rate of twenty-five pounds per solidus. This was disastrous because the intrinsic value of the fiduciary coinage was so low that their market value rested on such free conversion. Throughout the entire fifth century this small bronze currency had been issued in large amounts, but it seems entirely likely that Leo was forced into a position of issuing even greater amounts than before. His tremendous expenditures of treasure in the ill-fated Vandalic expedition in 468 had exhausted the reserves of over 100,000 pounds of gold left to him by Marcian. Procopius estimates the cost of the expedition at 130,000 pounds of gold, while John Lydus and Candidus give the estimate of 64,000 pounds of gold and 700,000 pounds of silver. 52 These tremendous expenditures could not possibly have been recouped before the accession of Basiliscus. The early sixth century author, Malchus, describes Basiliscus as a most avaricious ruler who, because of his desire for money, was guilty of the sin of extorting money from the churches.⁵⁸ This perhaps was the measure of his need. With an empty treasury and a shaky hold on the throne the emperor was in the direct straits. He had to secure money from all possible sources. What could be more natural than that he should seek a great increase in the profits from the operation of the mint? The evidence is quite conclusive that the economic situation required some govern-

⁵² Procopius, De Bello Vandalico, I, 6 (Bonn ed., I, p. 335); Ioannes Lydus, De Magistratibus Populi Romani, III, 43 (Bonn ed., p. 237); Candidus (Bonn ed., p. 477). Cf. Bury, p. 337, note 3, for a discussion of these figures. Also see E. Stein, Geschichte des spätrömischen Reiches, Vienna, 1928, I, pp. 531, 532. Malchus, Frag. 4 (Bonn ed., pp. 274, 275) = frag. 7 in Müller, Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, IV, p. 116.



3

mental action. Two courses were open to him: either he might increase the number of minimi equal to the solidus and simply recognize the rise in price which must have occurred when the bronze lost some of its convertibility—in which case he derived no profit—or he might change the mint ratio of gold to bronze, with all that this implies. If he had changed the number of minimi equal to the solidus from 7,000 to 8,400, he would simply have stabilized the course of the fiduciary bronze currency. It is clear from the text in the Corpus Iuris Civilis that the second course, that of lowering the goldbronze mint ratio from 1:1800 to 1:1440, was chosen. The reasons for the move are obvious. Stocks of bronze for monetary purposes must have been considerable. By lowering the mint ratio the Emperor added approximately one-fifth to the value of such bronze stocks. At the same time the move would have had the long-term effect of lowering prices in terms of fiduciary bronze currency. This, however, may never have come to pass because prices are notoriously slow on the downward grade, and it is doubtful that this move by itself would have created increased confidence in the fiduciary bronze. The population could have been forced to accept the government's terms in dealing with the highest authority, but there is no surety that in private transactions the move was particularly effective. Nevertheless, an incidental advantage which accrued to the imperial government from the change was the increased ability to lighten the currency still further for quick gain. The first solution, which implied recognition of an economic situation, that is, the decline in the value of bronze, would have been sounder from a purely theoretical standpoint. Governments, however, like individuals, are interested in profits rather than sound economics, and so the second course was chosen.

Zeno's return to power in 476 was not marked by any improvement in the economic position of the government. As we have indicated, the treasury was empty during his first years in power. Only one course lay open to the Emperor, a further reduction in the weight of the bronze currency together with a larger issue. Basiliscus had already cried up the bronze minimi to the breaking point. There can be no doubt that even the mint ratio of 1:1800 gave bronze a higher value than was actually true in the market place. Such is the nature



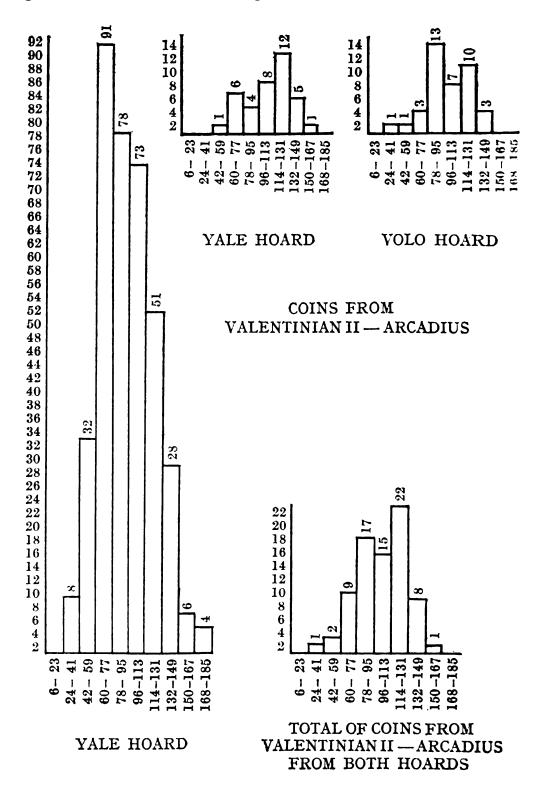
of fiduciary currency. The government in its time of need was vitally interested in the profits which it could obtain from the operation of the mint. In the final analysis, when the minimi fell to an average weight of only 0.62 grams and a theoretical weight of 0.84 grams, the system could not be maintained. Not only was the bronze very obviously overvalued, but the actual coinage was below its theoretical weight to such a degree that all could detect it. This in itself might have been relatively meaningless, if the issues had been limited and free conversion into gold could have been maintained. Unfortunately, this does not seem to have been the case. The temptation to issue bronze for a quick profit must have been almost overwhelming in the case of a government in the midst of a financial crisis.

The exact nature of the reform of Anastasius remains somewhat enigmatic to the present day. There is no information as to how the older coinage was demonetized or how the exchange was accomplished. Only one fact appears certain. An emperor of business ability with an astute eye for building up the treasury could not have made the error of reducing the value of the bronze in the treasury stocks and restoring the older mint ratio. Instead, the emperor reformed and changed the bronze monetary system by abolishing the minimi while retaining the mint ratio of 1:1440 which appears in the Corpus Iuris Civilis.

54 Blake, pp. 84-97.

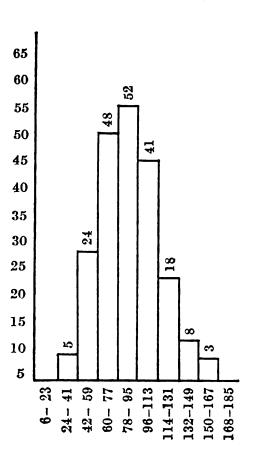


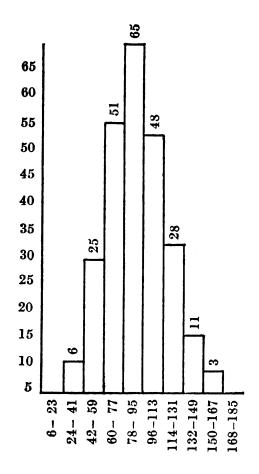
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THE VOLO HOARD





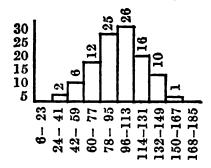
COINS FROM THEODOSIUS II TO VALENTINIAN III

COINS FROM
VALENTINIAN II TO
VALENTINIAN III

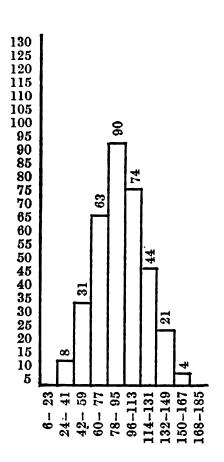


Metrological Analysis

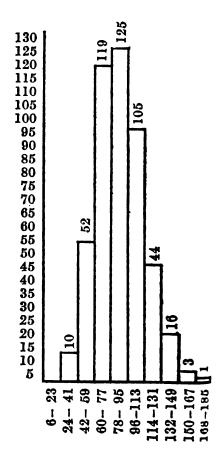
THE VOLO HOARD



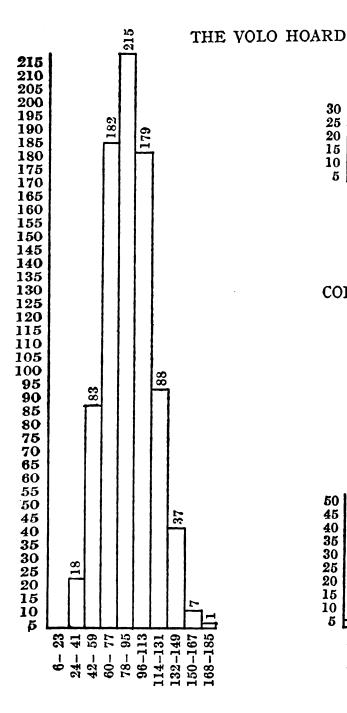
COINS OF MARCIAN



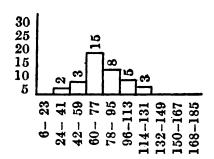
COINS PRIOR
TO THE REIGN OF LEO



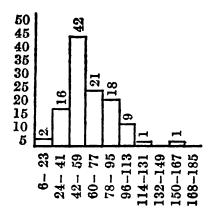
COINS OF LEO



COINS PRIOR
TO THE REIGN OF ZENO



COINS OF BASILISCUS, AELIA ZENONIS, AND BASILISCUS AND MARCUS



COINS OF ZENO

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TABLE OF MINTS Constantinople Thessalonica Alexandria Nicomedia Heraclea Antioch Cyzicus Rome CHES X0C Philip II of Macedon Constantinian Æ 3 2 Constantius Gallus Constantinian Æ 3: Barbarous Valentinian I, Valens, or Valentinian II Æ 3 I Valentinian II Æ 4 I Theodosius I Æ 4 I I Honorius Æ 4 (2) Arcadius Æ 4 I Arcadius Æ 4: Barbarous Late 4th, early 5th century Æ 3 and Æ 4 Ι 2 I I Late 4th, early 5th century Æ3 and Æ4: Barbarous Theodosius I, Arcadius, or Honorius Theodosius I, Arcadius, or Honorius Æ 4: Barba-I Arcadius or Honorius Æ 3 Arcadius or Honorius Æ 3: Barbarous Theodosius II Æ 4 4 I 2 Arcadius, Honorius, or Theodosius II I I Arcadius, Honorius, or Theodosius II: Barbar-Period of Theodosius II 2 5 7 7 Period of Theodosius II or later: Barbarous Valentinian III Æ 4



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TABLE OF MINTS

	Constantinople	Nicomedia	Cyzicus	Antioch	Alexandria	Heraclea	Rome	Thessalonica	KOC	CHES
Period of Valentinian III Æ 4 Period of Valentinian III Æ 4: Barbarous Valentinian II, Theodosius I, Arcadius, Honorius, (Valentinian III) Valentinian II, Theodosius I, Arcadius, Honorius, (Valentinian III): Barbarous Honorius, Theodosius II, Valentinian III Barbarous Imitations	I	I					5			
Marcian Marcian: Barbarous	12	13								5
Leo: Barbarous	47	5	5					7	10	
Zeno Illegible Monograms (of Leo, Zeno, or Aelia		I	5					2	2	
Zenonis) Illegible Monograms (of Leo, Zeno, or Aelia Zenonis): Barbarous Basiliscus Basiliscus and Marcus Aelia Zenonis Libius Severus Roman, Illegible Varia	I	Ι							ı	

NUMBEROF COINS FOR EACH HEADING IN THE CATALOGUE

Regular Issues	
Philip II of Macedon	1
Constantinian Æ 3	13
Constantius Gallus Æ 3	
Valentinian I, Valens, or Valentinian II Æ 3	5
Valentinian II Æ 4	3
Theodosius I Æ 4	5 3 7
Honorius Æ 4	12
Arcadius Æ 4	7
Late 4th, Early 5th Century Æ 3 and Æ 4	I
Theodosius I, Arcadius, or Honorius	2
Arcadius or Honorius Æ 3	19 2
Theodosius II	3t
Arcadius, Honorius, or Theodosius II	20
Period of Theodosius II	105
Valentinian III	4
Period of Valentinian III	16
Valentinian II, Theodosius I, Arcadius, Honorius, (Valentinian III)	16
Honorius, Theodosius II, Valentinian III	2
Marcian	98
Leo	475
Zeno	IIC
Illegible Monograms of Leo, Zeno, or Aelia Zenonis	7
Basiliscus	7
Basiliscus and Marcus	II
Aelia Zenonis	16
Libius Severus	4
Roman, Illegible	1
	

NUMBER OF COINS FOR EACH HEADING IN THE CATALOGUE

Barbarous Issues

Constantinian Æ 3	1
Arcadius	2
Late 4th, Early 5th Century Æ 3	3
Theodosius I, Arcadius, or Honorius	1
Arcadius or Honorius Æ 3	1
Arcadius, Honorius, or Theodosius II	2
Period of Theodosius II	10



Total

1002

Metrological Analysis	43
Period of Valentinian III	2
Valentinian II, Theodosius I, Arcadius, Honorius, (Valentinian III)	5
Imitations	14
Marcian	7
Leo	3
Zeno	I
Illegible Monograms of Leo, Zeno, or Aelia Zenonis	9
Varia	I
Total	62



CATALOGUE

In the catalogue the obverse legend is given when some remains are visible. Busts are draped and pearl diademed unless otherwise indicated. Where either the obverse legend or type is recorded it is preceded by Obv. The reverse inscription and type are always given where legible. Three dots indicate an indeterminate number of illegible letters. The line following the statement of the reverse legend gives first the size, in millimeters, second, the die position, and third, the weight in grams. Reference to earlier literature follows, when pertinent. A "cf." preceding the reference to the standard catalogues indicates not an identification, but an approximation to the type. We have omitted a list of clipped coins such as appears in Y, p. 158, in the belief that clipping as a mode of manufacture was standard practice for the Roman mint beginning sometime in the reign of Theodosius II. If the worker is careful, he will produce a coin which in itself conceals the technique. The Libius Severus piece in V was produced in the same way as the Y specimen (see Y, p. 143).

The die position is given in all cases where it can be determined. The smaller proportion of erratic positions in the Æ 4 starting from Theodosius II and continuing through Zeno attests the greater care applied to the minting of minimi in the fifth in contrast to the production of the late fourth century. Of the regular Æ 3 coinage 12 are 6 o'clock, 8 are 12 o'clock, and 8 erratic, that is, anywhere else on the dial. Of the Æ 3 barbarous specimens, I is 12 o'clock and I erratic. Of the regular Æ 4, 330 are 6 o'clock, 322 are 12 o'clock, and 191 erratic. The Æ 4 barbarous pieces show 10 at 6 o'clock, 8 at 12 o'clock, and 12 erratic.

An asterisk preceding the number indicates that the coin is illustrated in the Plates.

PHILIP II OF MACEDON

SNG Copen., Maced. Pl. 14, 619

Obv: Heracles in lion's skin.¹
Club; Φιλιππου; below, Μ.
10–11

1.03

¹ Nothing more need be said about the inclusion of a Hellenistic coin in a late Roman hoard other than to commend its persistence. It is impossible to suppose that a coin of Philip of Macedon would serve as currency to the Romans of the fifth century. This represents something lying about the house. The issue



CONSTANTINIAN

Æ 3

Reverse illegible

2. Obv: ...NVSPFAVG
Head is veiled²
13-15
1.14

FEL TEMP REPARATIO

Soldier l., spearing fallen horseman³

- 3. *Obv*: ...STANT... FEL... | 11–14 ↓ 1.10 CONA
- 4. *Obv*: ...TAN... ...EMP... 10–13 ↑ .84

5. *Obv*: ... VS... ... ATIO 11–12 ∠ .75

6. FELTEMP... $12-16 \rightarrow 1.04$

7. ...TEMP...
13-14 ← 1.33

Same Type (Barbarous)

8. 12-13 1.05

FEL TEMP REPARATIO

Phoenix on globe

9. *Obv*: ... NSTA... | CONSA | 9-II / .85

must have been a copious one, for these specimens have a penchant for intruding themselves into Roman hoards. Another example is provided by the hoard from Corinth of quite similar composition to V, described by Mattingly, p. 229.

The veiled head is no doubt the posthumous issue for Constantine I. C. 760.

The type occurs from Constantine II through Julian II. Y 10-24.

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SPES REIPVBLICE

Emperor standing l., holding globe in r. and leaning on spear

CONSTANTIUS GALLUS

FEL TEMP REPARATIO

Soldier 1., spearing fallen horseman

16. Obv: .NFLCLCON...

.ELTE...

8–12 ↓ .53

VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, or VALENTINIAN II

Æ3

SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE

Victory running 1., with wreath and palm

VALENTINIAN II

Æ4

SALVS REIPVBLICAE C. 30

Victory running l., dragging captive

ΙI ₹ .82 ...A SALVS...

10-11 ↑ .72 R.

RIC Vol. IX, p. 133,64a

VOT V within wreath

THEODOSIUS I

SALVS REIPVBLICAE C. 30

Victory running l., dragging captive

25.
$$Obv$$
: ..THEODO-SIVS...
12 \downarrow .91 $+ \mid$
 RIC , Vol. IX, 67b ANTA

27.
$$Obv$$
: ...SIVS... p_{\parallel}
...PVBLICAE CONSA

12–13 \downarrow 1.11

RIC Vol. IX, p. 234, 86b

29. Obv : ...O-SIV...
...VBL...

VICTORIA AVG(GG)5

Two victories facing one another, each holding wreath

3-5 / .49

Reverse illegible

- ⁴ The number of letters on the obverse, although they can not be read, requires the ascription of this coin to Valentinian II and not to the other possible emperors for the eastern mints, Gratian, Arcadius, and Theodosius I.
- ⁵ C. 43 has -AVGGG. -AVG is recorded for the mint of Thessalonica in RIC IX, p. 187, No. 63b. Y 47, 48.



HONORIUS

Æ4

GLORIA ROMANORVM C. 38

Three emperors, standing, with spears; two outer resting hands on shields; central figure slightly smaller⁶

32. *Obv*: DNHONOR... 10–14 **\underbrack** .89

Obv. mint-mark to left of head: *

SALVS REIPVBLICAE

Victory running 1., dragging captive

33. *Obv*: DNHON...
...LVSRE... p|
...
... 11–12 \(\) 1.01

34. *Obv*: .NPON...⁷ 10–12 † 1.13

VICTORIA AVGG(G)8

Victory running l., with wreath and palm

36. *Obv*: DNHO...
...AVGG ...A

II-I2 ↑ I.47

- ⁶ All specimens in V (32, 115, 116, 121-132, 134-138, 297, 298) and in Y (69, 90, 106, 151-158, 314-317) depicting two or three emperors are larger by about 2 mm. than the Æ 4. However, they do not reach regular Æ 3 size. We can not but agree with Pearce that a distinction from both Æ 3 and Æ 4 was originally intended (Roman Coinage, "Corrections and Additions," p. 4: also in "A Late Roman Hoard from Southwest Asia Minor," Numismatic Chronicle 5th Series, XV (1935), pp. 21-24). Pearce at first called them Æ 4, but later preferred to refer to them as "Æ 3 small" (Roman Coinage, p. 22). The reverses remind one of the Æ 3 types with the emperor in various postures. CK throughout refers to these as Æ 3.
- ⁷ Since the coin is well made, the P for H in the name is probably no more than a die-cutter's error.
- ⁸ The possibility of a third G for the type is suggested by Cohen's listing (No. 39) and Thompson, No. 1616. An actual specimen from the Roman mint is mentioned by Pearce, Roman Coinage, p. 81, No. 83.



ARCADIUS

Æ 4

SALVS REIPVBLICAE Sab. 41

Victory running 1., dragging captive

CONCORDIA AVG(GG)

Cross Sab. 32

11-13 1 .97

Reverse illegible

Reverse illegible (Barbarous)

Gate of camp (Barbarous)

52.
$$Obv$$
: NAR... $9 \leftarrow .52$

LATE 4th, EARLY 5th CENTURY

Æ3

CONCORDIA AVG(GG)

Rome or Constantinople, helmeted, seated facing, head 1., holding globe and partly seen spear; r. leg bare⁹

Same type (Barbarous)

54. 11-12 .85

GLORIA ROMANORVM

Emperor with labarum, dragging captive r.10

 $^{^{9}}$ The type is found for Gratian, Valentinian II, Theodosius I, Arcadius, and Honorius, and shows either -AVG or AVGGG. Y 73.

¹⁰ The type is found for Valentinian I, Valens, Gratian, Valentinian II, Theodosius I, and Arcadius. Y 74-83.

Same type (Barbarous)

.56

Reverse illegible

Æ 4

VOT X MVLT XX within wreath¹¹

VICTORIA AVG(GG)12

Two victories facing one another, each holding wreath

72. VI...
$$\frac{1}{R}$$
. 12-14 \(\sqrt{1.30}\)

Uncertain VOTA type

9 .95

- 11 The type is found for Gratian, Valentinian II, Theodosius I, and Arcadius.
- 12 The type is found for Valentinian II, Theodosius I, and Arcadius. -AVG is Thessalonica, -AVGGG Rome. Y 86-88.



THEODOSIUS I, ARCADIUS, or HONORIUS SPES ROMANORVM

Gate of camp¹⁸

75. SPESRO...

10-11 ↓ 1.24

Star between turrets

Same Type

76. 11 1.32

Same type (Barbarous)

77. R. 11–12 \downarrow 1.02

ARCADIUS or HONORIUS

Æ3

VIRTVS EXERCITI

Emperor standing r., leaning on spear; victory l., crowning him 78. 12-14 \(\sqrt{1.40} \)

Same type (Barbarous)

80. 9-10 .39

THEODOSIUS II

Æ4

VT XXXV in three lines within wreath Sab. 31

81. *Obv*: ..TH... VTXXXV 10–11 ↓ .49 *82. *Obv*: ...SPF**Ay**14
TOV XXXV

12-13 ↓ .94

¹⁴ The coin is well enough made to be a regular issue, though by a careless die-cutter working backwards. Can -Ay possibly be a ligature or abbreviation for -AVG? Coin 696 is in similar case.

 $^{^{13}}$ According to RIC, the sub-type showing the star between the turrets was issued only by western mints. The type exists for Valentinian II through Honorius. Y 91-93. GLORIA REIPVBLICE is also possible.

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- 83. VT XXXV
 - 10 ↓ 1.11
- 85. VT XXXV¹⁵
 11-12 ↓ .86

- 84. VT XXXV 9–10 ↑ .83
- 86. [VT X]XXV 10–12 ↑ 1.21

CONCORDIA AVG(G)16

Victory standing, facing, wreath in each hand

- 87. Obv: ...DOSIVSPFAVG CONC...
 - 12-13 \$\dagger\$ 1.22 CON

Anepigraphic. Cross in wreath. Sab. 32

- 89. Obv: DNTHEOD... $\frac{1}{COU}$
 - 10 ↓ .74
- 91. Obv: DNTHEODO... \downarrow CO.
- 93. *Obv*: .NTH... | ANTA
- 95. *Obv*: ...HEO...
 10 ↓ .96 <u>|</u>
- 97. Obv: DNTHEODOSIVS... $11-12 \downarrow ...76$
- 99. *Obv*: DNTHE...AVG 11–12 ↑ 1.03
- 101. *Obv*: DNTH... 10–11 ↓ 1.19
- 103. *Obv*: DNT...
 12–13 ↑ .74

- 90. Obv: ..HEODSVSPF... (sic!) $\frac{1}{CON}$
- 92. Obv: ...SIVSP... $\frac{1}{ANT}$.
- 94. Obv: DNTHEODO...

 12 \downarrow .93 $\stackrel{|}{\text{SMK}}$
- 96. Obv: .NTHEObOSIV-SPFAVG 10–12 ↑ 1.34
- 98. Obv: DNTHEODO... $11-12 \downarrow .95$
- 100. *Obv*: DNTH...
- 102. Obv: DNT...VSPFAVG
 - II ↓ .9I
- 104. *Obv*: DNT...
- 15 The piece is double-struck.
- ¹⁶ The legend ends in either -AVG or -AVGG. See Pearce and Wood, pp. 272, 279. Y 107.

10-11 / .72

GLORIA ROMANORVM

Two emperors standing, holding spears and leaning on shields

Reverse illegible

ARCADIUS, HONORIUS or THEODOSIUS II

CONCORDIA AVG(GG) around cross¹⁸

¹⁷ Headdress is rosette.

¹⁸ The type exists for all three emperors in either -AVG or -AVGGG. Y 140, 150.

Same Type (Barbarous)

GLORIA ROMANORVM

Three emperors, standing, with spears; two outer resting hands on shields; central figure slightly smaller

121.
$$Obv$$
: ... VSPF...
 122. \overline{SMNA}

 12-14 \downarrow .68
 9-15 \downarrow .84

 123. \overline{NTA}
 124. $\overline{SM.A}$

 11-12 \downarrow .68
 11-14 .96

 125. 8 -11 \uparrow .58
 126. 11 -13 \uparrow .77

Mint mark in upper left obverse:*

Same Type (Barbarous)

GLORIA ROMANORVM

Two emperors standing, holding spears and leaning on shields19

¹⁹ Pearce lists a doubtful specimen of Valentinian III (Roman Coinage, p. 78. No. 141). Y 158.

PERIOD OF THEODOSIUS II20

Anepigraphic. Cross in wreath.

				- F - O F	 				
139.	Obv: D	N.			140.	Obv:		SPFAV	'G
	10	↓	1.19			10-1	[↓	I.OI	
141.	Obv: .	s	PFAV	G	142.	Obv:		PFAVO	à
	10-11		.88			10-1	τ ↓	1.17	
143.	Obv: .	P	FA		144.	Obv:		PFA	
, -	II	↓	80.1					1.19	
145.	Obv: .	A	VG		146.	Obv:	DN.		
,,,	9				·	10-11			CON
147.	Obv: .	S	P		148.	Obv:	l	FAVG	COIN
"	11-13.				•	10-11			1
				CON					CON
149.	9–10	¥	1.28	CON	150.	9–10	1	.78	.ON
151.	11-12	↑	1.23	 MNIA	152.	9–10	†	1.03	NA
750	0	1	0.5	, ring	T = 4	10-11	1	72	1
	9			KA					SMKB
155.	Obv: .				156.	12-13	1	.63	
	10-12	¥	.64	KB					SMK.
157.	10-12	1	.61	.MK.	158.	11-13	↑	.58	<u> </u> .MK.
159.	9–11	↓	.8ı		160.	10	↑	.58	
				.MK.					ANT
* 161.	II	↑	.99	ANT	162.	10	↓	·75	ANT
163.	9–11	\	.49		164.	10	1	.56	ANIT
165.	0	ı	77.4	.191	T66	11-12		02	ANI.
105.	9	*	.74	ANT.				.92	.NT.
167.	9–10	↑	.58		168.	9	\	.52	
169.	8–9	↓	.6o		170.	10-11		.84	

²⁰ Most of these coins should be assigned to Theodosius II. However, Valentinian III also has the type (see a rare specimen from the Agora, Thompson, No. 1657). Since Valentinian III is rather well represented in the hoard, with 4 coins definitely his and 16 others belonging to his period, it is possible that at least one of the coins under this heading is his.

171.	10-11	↑	.94	
173.	10-11	↑	·74	
175.	9–11	1	.66	
177.	II	↑	.79	
179.	8	↑	.77	
181.	9	1	.8ı	
183.	10	↓	.82	
185.	8–9	\downarrow	.56	
187.	9–10	\downarrow	.84	
189.	9-11	↓	.63	
191.	12-13	\	.96	
193.	9–10	↓	.65	
195.	10-12	\	.72	
197.	10	↓	.91	
199.	II	\downarrow	1.27	
201.	10	↓	.88	
203.	9–10	1	1.58	
205.	10-11	1	1.07	
207.	10-11	\rightarrow	1.14	
209.	7-9		.64	
211.	8–9		.87	
213.	II-I2		.60	
215.	8-10		.66	
217.	9		.83	
219.	10-12		1.04	
221.	10-12		.89	
223.	8-9		.48	
225.	II		.84	
227.	8–9		.63	
229.	10		.62	
231.	7		.52	
The	_::_	h1	·	.

172.	9–10	↑	.85
174.	9–11	↑	.86
176.	II	↑	.87
178.	12-13	↑	1.51
180.	10-11	↑	.97
182.	8 -1 0	↓	.51
184.	11-12	\	.83
186.	IO	↓	.95
188.	10-12	\	·75
190.	II	↓	.6o
192.	9–12	\downarrow	1.25
194.	9-11	\	.69
196.	10-11	↓	1.16
198.	9-11	\	.70
200.	9–10	\downarrow	.81
202.	II	1	.56
204.	II	1	.87
206.	10-11	1	.96
208.	9-10	1	.66
210.	8		.78
212.	11-12		.67
214.	10-11		1.12
216.	9		· 59
218.	8 -1 0		∙45
220.	9–10		.56
222.	11-12		·74
224.	9		1.02
226.	9		∙39
228.	7-10		.45
230.	7-11		.30 ²¹
	/		.5

233.	IO	.96	234. 9	-10 .49
235.	10-11	1.04	236. 9	-io .8 ₇
237.	9–10	.89	238. 8-	-10 .26
239.	8-1o	.45	240. 11-	-I2 I.2I
241.	9–10	.72	242. 9	.54
243.	8-a	.47		

PERIOD OF THEODOSIUS II OR LATER: BARBAROUS

Anepigraphic. Cross in wreath

244.
$$8-9$$
 \uparrow .41 245. $10-11$ \downarrow .55 246. $8-9$ \leftarrow 26²² 247. $9-10$.51 248. $10-11$.96 249. $9-10$.47²³

Anepigraphic. Cross pattée within wreath.

250.	250. Obv: Dots for lettering		251.	9–10	.41 ²⁴
	IO-II	.71			
252.	10-11	1.20	253 .	9	.86

VALENTINIAN III VICTORIA AVGG

Victory running l., with wreath and palm²⁵

*254. *Obv*: .NVALE... ...AAVG. <u>T|</u> ...

SALVS REIPVBLIC(A)E²⁶

Victory running l., with wreath and palm

255. <i>Obv</i> :ALENTINI	256. <i>Obv</i> : NVSPFA
VBLI	PVBLIC(.).
10-11 ↑ 1.09	10–11 ↓ 1.04

- ²² Obverse is an pigraphic.
- 23 A reel border on the reverse has replaced the wreath.
- ²⁴ Obverse is anepigraphic.
- 25 Cf. C. 12, 13 and Pearce and Wood, pp. 273, 282. Y 253, 254.
- ²⁶ Additional specimens in Pearce and Wood, p. 282.



Victory running l., with wreath and palm²⁷

PERIOD OF VALENTINIAN III28

VICTORIA AVGG

Victory running l., with wreath and palm

SALVS REIPVBLICE

Victory running l., with wreath and palm

SALVS REIPVBLIC(A)E

Victory running l., dragging captive

Victory running l., with wreath and palm²⁹

265.
$$Obv: \dots SPFA.$$
 266. $Obv: \dots FAV.$ 10–11 \nwarrow 1.09 $\frac{T|}{\cdots}$ 10–12 \uparrow 1.01 $\frac{|}{R.}$

²⁷ Either VICTORIA AVGG or SALVS REIPVBLIC(A)E is possible. Y 256.

28 The coins of Valentinian III have a style all their own which distinguishes them as a rule from other material in the hoard. The relief tends to be higher, but, since the outlines are not sharply cut, the figures are thick and heavy. The same characteristics apply to late coins of Honorius. See Pearce and Wood, p. 273. Y 259-298.

²⁹ See note 27. Y 269-280.



267.
$$10-11 \uparrow 1.33 \frac{|}{R}$$
268. $10-11 \uparrow 1.02 \frac{|}{R}$
269. $11-12 \uparrow 1.38 \frac{|}{C}$
270. $10-11 \downarrow 1.37 \frac{|}{R}$
271. $9-10 \downarrow 1.34$
272. $10-11 \downarrow 1.22$

VICTORIA AVGG(G)

Two victories facing one another, holding one wreath (and? palms)30

PERIOD OF VALENTINIAN III: BARBAROUS

Victory running l., with wreath and palm³¹

VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS I, ARCADIUS, HONORIUS, (VALENTINIAN III)

SALVS REIPVBLICAE

Victory running 1., dragging captive³²

276.
$$Obv$$
: ...SPFAVG
 277. Obv : ...PFAVG

 ...PVBLICAE
 ...PVBL...
 $+!$

 II-I2 \downarrow .73
 IO-II \downarrow .60

 278. Obv : ...AVG
 279. SAL...
 p

 I2 \downarrow I.03 p
 I2 \uparrow I.24

 280. I2-I3 \uparrow I.05 p
 281. II-I2 \downarrow .73 p

 282. II \uparrow I.14 p
 283. ...PVBLICAE

 I2 \uparrow I.07

³⁰ For the third G see E. T. Newell, Two Hoards from Minturno. Numismatic Notes and Monographs. No. 60, New York, 1933, p. 31. Y 285-289.

³¹ See note 27.

³² We have included these common pieces at this point because Valentinian III is also known to have issued the type. The SM- mint-mark, of course, precedes him. Y 299-312.

284PVBLICAE	285PVBLIC
12–13 ↓ .90	11–12 † .78
286. SALVS	287REP
11-12 ↓ 1.03	10–13 ↓ .56
288RE	289. 10–11 † .86
11–12 🔪 1.35	
290. 9–11 ↓ .64	291. 8–10 .66

Same Type (Barbarous)

292. *Obv*: Jumbled lettering 293. 11–12
$$\downarrow$$
 .84 $\frac{P|}{...}$ 294. *Obv*: Jumbled lettering 295. 8–10 \downarrow .61 9 \leftarrow .55 296. 9–11 \downarrow .56

HONORIUS, THEODOSIUS II, VALENTINIAN III

GLORIA ROMANORVM

Two emperors of equal height, standing, each with spear, together holding globe

BARBAROUS IMITATIONS

Victory running l., with wreath and palm³³

³³ The fabric of these pieces maintains a good standard, but the style is quite crude. From the present evidence it is impossible to date them as to reign. The equivalent specimens in Y are 318-345. Some of these coins illustrate poor workmanship within the Roman mint itself. For example, those with good Roman lettering could be the products of a literate but clumsy artist. Others, such as Y 320 and 336, may by the same criterion be truly barbarous productions. Since there is no evidence of Vandalic mintage in the hoard, these pieces were probably produced by the irregular moneyer.

62
30:
30
305
30/
300
310
31:

301.
$$8-9$$
 † .60
 302. $9-11$
 † .56

 303. $8-9$
 † .31
 304. $10-12$
 .84

 305. $11-13$
 • .64
 306. $9-10$
 • .24

 307. $8-9$
 .41
 308. $10-11$
 .54

 309. $11-13$
 .85

Victory standing, facing, wreath in each hand

Victory running 1., dragging captive

Lines to represent figure³⁴

MARCIAN

(V 1) within wreath Sab. 11

319.
$$Obv: ..AVG$$

$$11-12 \downarrow 1.39 \quad \frac{1}{C..}$$

321.
$$Obv$$
: DNM... $9^{-12} \uparrow .77 \frac{|}{NIC}$

320.
$$Obv: ..MARC...$$

 $10-12 \downarrow 1.22 \frac{|}{NIC}$

³⁴ This is possibly a very poor attempt to portray a victory type of some sort.

348. 10–11

.82

9-10 5 .92

.92

(V I) Var. (Cross at an angle) within wreath

349. 9–10 ↓ .71 350. 10-11 / 1.12 or (V 1, 7) within wreath

351.
$$Obv.: ...AN...$$
 352. $Obv: ...A...FAV.$ 9-11 \uparrow .50 9-10 \nwarrow .92 353. \otimes \vee .79 354. \otimes 9-10 \otimes .92

(V 2) within wreath 355. 10–11 ↑ 1.06 | CON

04

(V 3) within wreath

(V 4) within wreath

(V 5) within wreath

(V 6) within wreath

(V 8) within wreath

368.
$$Obv$$
: ...ANVSPA.. 10-II \downarrow .85 $\frac{|}{NIC}$

(V 10) within wreath

394.
$$Obv: \dots ANVS...$$

$$11-12 \uparrow 1.13 \qquad \frac{|}{CON}$$

(V 11) within wreath

(V 12) within wreath

(V 13) within wreath

399.
$$Obv: ...NVSPFAV.$$
10 \downarrow 1.07 $\stackrel{|}{NICO}$

5

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(V 14) within wreath

Catalogue

400. *Obv*: ...ANVSPFAVG
10 ↓ .92

(V 15) within wreath

401. 9–11 1.40

Ys (V 16) within wreath

402. 10–11 ↓ 1.11 | CON

(V 17) within wreath

403. II ↓ I.32

Indeterminate monogram within wreath

404. Obv: ...MARCIANVSP...

10 \swarrow 1.21 $\stackrel{|}{CON}$

405. *Obv*: DNMA... 10–11 ↓ .83 | CON

406. *Obv*: ... VSP...

407. 10-11 ↓ .67

9-10 ↑ .62 408. *Obv*: ...AV.

409. 8–9 ↓ .55

9 ↑ .66

410. 6-9 .28

MARCIAN: BARBAROUS

(V 18) within wreath

411. 8−9 ↑ .45

(V 19) within wreath

412. 9-11 / .55

(V 20) within wreath

413. 8 .46

(V 22) within wreath

Indeterminate monograms

LEO I

Anepigraphic. Lion standing 1., wreath border. Cf. Sab. 20

Anepigraphic. Lion standing 1., above, star; reel border. Cf. Sab. 20

421.
$$Obv$$
: DNLEOP...AV.

↓ I.I2

Anepigraphic. Lion crouching 1., looking r. Double border.³⁶ Sab. 19 Var.

5*

³⁶ The outer border is wreath, the inner reel.

³⁷ The obverse shows a cross above Leo's head. See CK p. 91.

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Anepigraphic. Lion crouching l., looking r. Sab. 19

Anepigraphic. Lion crouching l., looking r; no star, reel border

437.
$$Obv$$
: DNLEOPFAVG

11–12 \downarrow .91 $\stackrel{|}{CON}$

441.
$$Obv$$
: DNLE...
10 \downarrow .86 $\stackrel{|}{\mathsf{CON}}$

443.
$$Obv: .NL...$$

11–12 \(.55 \frac{1}{CON} \)

445.
$$Obv: ... EOSPFA.$$
10–11 \downarrow 1.17 $\stackrel{|}{CON}$

438.
$$Obv$$
: DNLEO... $9-10 \uparrow 1.33 \frac{|}{CON}$

444.
$$Obv$$
: ..LEOPA..

II \downarrow I.22 $\stackrel{|}{\leftarrow}$ CON

³⁸ 439,459, 464, and 471 show HEO instead of LEO. As in the case of Y 457, 475, 483, 484, 487, they are all of good Roman manufacture. It is noticeable that these specimens in both V and Y occur only in the "lion" series.

- 453. *Obv*: ...AVG 9−11 / .86 | CON
- 455. 9 ↑ .87 | CON
- 457. 9 \downarrow .83 $\stackrel{|}{\leftarrow}$ CON
- 459. Obv: .NHE... $10-12 \downarrow .92 \frac{|}{CON}$
- 463. 8-10 \downarrow .63 $\frac{1}{CO}$.
- 465. 9-10 ∕ .77 <u>|</u> C..
- 467. 10−11 ↑ 1.08 <u>|</u> .ON
- 469. 9–10 ↑ .78 <u>|</u> CN
- 473. *Obv*: DNLEO... 9–10

 ✓ .82
- 475. *Obv*: DNL... 10–11 ↓ .64
- 477. *Obv*: DN... 9−II ✓ .43
- 481. *Obv*: ..LEO... 10–12 ← 1.11
- 483. *Obv*: ...EOPFAV. 11 ↓ 1.19
- 39 The coin is pierced in the center.

- 456. 10–11 ↑ .75 | CON
- 458. 10–11 1.08 | CON
- *460. Obv: DNL...

 10 \uparrow 1.10 \downarrow CO.
- 464. Obv: DNHE...II \downarrow I.13 $\stackrel{|}{\subset}$..
- 468. Obv: .NL...

 10-II \rightarrow I.0I $\stackrel{|}{\sqsubseteq}$ CN
- 470. *Obv*: DNLEOPFAVG 9–10 ∠ 1.28
- 472. Obv: DNLEOPF... $10-11 \downarrow .87$
- 474. *Obv*: DNLE... 10–11 ↑ .64
- 476. *Obv*: DN... 9–10 ↑ 1.15
- 478. *Obv*: .NLE... 10–11 ∠ 1.33
- 480. *Obv*: ..LEOPFAVG³⁹ 10−11 ∠ .80
- 482. *Obv*: ..LE... 8–10 ↑ .82
- 484. *Obv*: ...EOPF...
 10–11 ↑ .72

Catalogue

7 0
485
482
489
49
49:
49
492
499
50
50
50
5 0′
50

Same type (Barbarous)

(V I) within wreath Sab. 18

512. 9
$$\uparrow$$
 .71 $\stackrel{|}{\text{CVZ}}$ 514. *Obv*: .NLEO...

510. 9–10 ∠ .95 <u>|</u>

J-7·	, 0	.33
519.		NLEO ↓ 1.17
521.	Obv: Di	v 1.17 NFAVG ↓ .81
523.	Obv: .N	·
525.	<i>Obv</i> : . N	
527.	Obv: .	
5 29.	Obv: 10-12	.EO
531.	Obv:	.OPT ↑ .77
533.	Obv:	.EP
535.	<i>Obv</i> :	
537.	Obv:	
5 39·	Obv:	
541.	9	
543.	10-11	↑ .66
545.	9	↑ .6 ₉
547.	9	↑ .6I
54 9·		↑ .62
551.		↑ .95
553.		-
555.	9–10	↓ .56

517. 7-8

.55

```
518. Obv: DNLEO...
     10-12 ↓ 1.30
520. Obv: DNLE...
      9–18 ↓ 1.08
522. Obv: DN...
     10-11 1.06
524. Obv: .NLE-O
      8–9
            ↑ .53
526. Obv: .NLE...
      9-11 1.71
528. Obv: ...EOPT...
      9-11 \ .65
530. Obv: ...EO...
     IO
           ✓ I.I2
532. Obv: ...O...
      9–10 ↓ 1.02
534. Obv: ... PFAVG
      9
536. Obv: ... PAV.
            1.99
      9
538. Obv: ...AVG
      9-11 ↓ .80
540. Obv: ...AVG
               1.36
            \uparrow
      9
542. 9-11
               .78
               .98
544. IO
546.
            † 1.10
     9-10
548.
      9
               .74
550.
      9
            1.12
      8-9
               .61
552.
554.
               .66
     9-10
556. IO
            ↓ 1.01
558.
      8-9
               .93
```

557. 10–11 ↓ 1.19

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559.	9	₩	.83	560. 8	\	.50
561	9	\downarrow	1.00	562. 10-	11 ↓	1.08
563.	9	\downarrow	·75	564. 8	\	.54
565.	9-11	\downarrow	1.07	566. 9-	11 ↓	1.28
567.	9-10	\downarrow	.86	5 68. 8	↓	. 6 o
5 69.	9	\downarrow	.97	570. 9	\	1.09
571.	9-10	\	I.OI	572. 9-	10 \	1.00
573⋅	8 .	\rightarrow	.60	574. 9	\rightarrow	.63
575 ⋅	9-10	/	.77	576. 8-6	9 🗸	.56
577∙	8-9	/	.52	578. IO	1	1.03
579.	9-10	1	.95	580. 9-	10 /	.71
581.	io ,	/	.85	582. 9-	10 🗸	1.08
583.	9 `	1	.66	584. 8-	9	.76
5 8 5 .	9-10		.67	586. IO		1.03
5 ⁸ 7.	9-10		1.24	5 88. 8-4	9	.47

(V 2) within wreath Sab. 18

603.	$Obv: \ldots A$	VGO	604.	Obv: .	V	GO
	8–9 ↓	.43		9	\downarrow	.50
605.	8- 1 0 ↑	·75	606.	7-8	↑	.49
607.	9 1	.58	6 08.	8–9	↑	.68
609.	9–10 ↑	.82	610.	9–10	↑	.89
611.	9 1	.78	612.	9–10	↑	.84
613.	9-10 ↓	.65	614.	9	\downarrow	.66
615.	8 ↓	.58	616.	8-1o	\downarrow	.94
617.	8 ↓	.70	618.	10	↓	.6o
619.	8-10 🗸	.73	620.	9–10	1	.89
621.	9-10 🤨	.84	622.	9		.58
623.	9	.84	624.	8-9	↑	.70

or (V 1, 2) within wreath Sab. 18

625.
$$Obv: DN...$$
9 \$\frac{1}{1}.06\$

626. $Obv: ..LEO...$
9 \$\frac{1}{6}.61\$

627. 9-10 \$\frac{1}{1}.01\$

628. 9 \$\frac{1}{5}.54\$

629. 9 \$\frac{1}{1}.43\$

630. 10 \$\frac{1}{5}.55\$

631. 8-9 \$\frac{1}{6}.62\$

632. 9-10 \$\frac{1}{5}.53\$

633. 9-10 \$\frac{1}{4}.44\$

634. 10-11 \$\frac{1}{1}.20\$

635. 8-9 \$\frac{1}{6}.69\$

636. 8-9 \$\frac{1}{1}.13\$

637. 8 \$\frac{1}{6}.62^{40}\$

638. 8 \$\frac{1}{4}.48\$

639. 8-9 \$\nabla .40\$

640. 8 .71

641. 8-10 .37

(V 3) within wreath

⁴⁰ The obverse is an epigraphic, the head being enclosed in a reel border. The lack of obverse legend is remarkable, for the style and quality of manufacture are clearly Roman.

(V 4) within wreath Sab. 18

658.
$$8-9 \rightarrow .51$$
660. $9-10$.60

(V 5) within wreath Sab. 18

(V 6) within wreath Sab. 18

677. Obv: DN	678. Obv: .N
10-11 1.03	9–11 📈 .36
679. <i>Obv</i> :RT	68o. <i>Obv</i> :O
9–10 🗸 1.11	10–11 📈 .84
681. <i>Obv</i> :PEAVG	682. Obv:AV.
10-11 / 1.04	9–10 ↓ .84
683. <i>Obv</i> : AV	684. 9–12 ↑ .83
10–11 ↓ .74	
685. 9–11 ↑ .80 ⁴¹	686. 9–11 ↑ .71
687. 9–11 ↓ .37	688. 8–9 ↓ .57
689. 10–11 ↓ .65	690. 10–11 → .82
691. 10–11 🔪 1.13	692. 10–11 .98
(V 7) within wi	reath Sab. 18
693. Obv: DNLE.	694. 8–9 .39
10−11 ↓ .69	-)
(V 8) within w	reath Sab. 18
695. 10–11 ∠ 1.04 CON	696. Obv:PFAy42
CON	0.70 04
	9–10 \ .85
697. 10–11 ↑ .75	698. 7-8 ↓ .49
699. 8−9 <i>1</i> .67	700. 10 − 11 🗸 .97
701. 9–10 🖌 .64	
(V 9) within wi	eath Sah 18
_ `	catil Sub. 10
702. <i>Obv</i> :AVG	
8–9 ↑ 1.00 <u> </u> THS	

41 The piece is double-struck on an elongated flan and the types repeated on both obverse and reverse. Apparently the workman struck the coin very much off center the first time, so that only a part of the head is visible on one end of the obverse and part of the wreath on the reverse. When he found he still had enough space to stamp the coin properly, he did so, so that the obverse shows one full head and part of another and the reverse part of the wreath facing outward on one corner and also the full monogram on the other end.

42 For - Ay see note 14.

Indeterminate monogram

703.
$$Obv: ...E.$$
 704. 8-12 .37 $io-1i \downarrow .73 \stackrel{|}{\leftarrow}$

Anepigraphic. Emperor, in military dress, standing r., holding long cross in r., captive with l. Cf. Sab. 14

⁴³ 705-710 show a reel border and no star; 711-716 show a reel and star; 717-722 show a cross and no reel; 732-738 show no star or cross, and no reel border is visible.

727.
$$Obv$$
: DNLEO...
 728. Obv : DN...

 9-II ↑ .93
 9-I0 ↑ .98

 729. Obv : .NLEO...
 730. Obv : .NLE...

 9-II ↓ .9I
 IO-II \swarrow I.34

 731. Obv : ...EO
 732. Obv : ...OSPFAVG

 8-IO ↑ I.42
 IO-II ↑ I.37

 733. Obv : ...AVG
 734. Obv : ...AV.

 9-IO ↑ .65
 IO ↓ I.23

 735. Obv : ...AV.
 10 ↓ I.23

 737. Obv : ...AV
 738. II ...8044

Same Type (Barbarous)

Anepegraphic. Figure in long robes, nimbate, standing facing, holding cross-surmounted globe in r., and scepter transversely in 1.45 Cf. Sab. 15

740.
$$Obv$$
: DNLEO..PFA..
 741. Obv : DNL...G

 11-13 \swarrow 1.20 $\underline{b} | \underline{E}$
 9-11 \uparrow 1.14 $\underline{b} | \underline{E}$

 742. Obv : DNL...
 10 \uparrow .66 $\underline{b} | \underline{E}$

 744. Obv : DNL...
 10 \uparrow .66 $\underline{b} | \underline{E}$

 745. Obv : .NLEO...
 10 \uparrow .93 $\underline{b} | \underline{E}$



⁴⁴ The piece is broken in two.

⁴⁵ There would seem to be practically universal agreement (Sabatier, who thinks of the Emperor, is the exception) that the figure represented on the reverse of these coins is female. This presumption seems to us confirmed by the material in V which, being relatively well preserved, admits the identification of detail not hitherto possible. The headdress is most clearly the women's imperial crown seen, for example, at San Vitale in Ravenna. More difficult is the identification of the woman herself. Eudoxia and Verina have been considered. The interchange of b and v during this period, as Grierson maintains ("Three Unpublished Coins of Zeno (474-491)," Numismatic Chronicle 6th Series, VIII (1948), p. 226), is possible, but it is hard to see why the small case for b followed by a capital E. Relevant literature and discussion in Y, catalogue note 68.

- 746. Obv: .NL-EO 11–12 \uparrow 1.12 $b \mid E$ 748. Obv: ...EO
- 10-11 \ .67 b | E
- 750. *Obv*: ... OSPFA.. 9-11 ↑ 1.06 <u>b | E</u>
- 752. $Obv: \dots AVG \xrightarrow{b \mid E}$ 8-10 \uparrow .83
- 754. 10-11 ↓ .74 <u>b | E</u>
- 756. 10–11 ↓ .94 <u>b | E</u>
- 758. Obv: DNLEO...10 \downarrow 1.05 $b \mid "$
- 760. *Obv*: DNL... 10–11 ↑ .90 **b**|"
- 762. *Obv*: DNL... 11–12 ∠ 1.19 <u>b | "</u>
- 764. *Obv*: .NL... 10−12 ✓ .75 <u>b | "</u>
- 766. *Obv*: ..LE... 9–10 ↓ 1.08 <u>b | "</u>
- 768. *Obv*: ...E. 9–11 ↑ .78 <u>b | "</u>
- 770. *Obv*: ...O 10–11 ↑ .98 b|"
- 772. *Obv*: ...**VG** 9–14 ↑ 1.24 **b**|"
- 774. 9-II ↑ .86 b|"
- 776. 10-11 ↓ 1.12 <u>b|"</u>
- 778. 10-11 1.11 <u>b | "</u>
- 780. *Obv*: DNLE... 9–II ↑ .7I "|E
- 782. Obv: DN...O11-13 \(\gamma\) 1.16 "|E

- 747. *Obv*: ..L-EO
 10−11 / .96 b E
- 749. *Obv*: ...E. 10–11 ↑ .85 **b** E
- *751. *Obv*: ...FAVG 9–10 ↓ .87 d E
- 753. II ↑ .94 **b**|**E**
- 755. 10-12 ↓ 1.22 b | E
- 757. 9–10 .93 **b** E
- 759. *Obv*: DNL... 9–10 ↓ .86 <u>**b**†"</u>
- 761. *Obv*: DNL... 10–11 ↓ .71 <u>b ''</u>
- 763. *Obv*: DN...
 10 ↑ 1.80 <u>b|''</u>
- 765. *Obv*: .N...
 10 ↑ .87 <u>b | "</u>
- 767. *Obv*: ...EO 11–13 ↑ 1.07 <u>b '''</u>
- 769. *Obv*: ...E... 8–9 ↑ .66 <u>b ′′</u>
- 771. *Obv*: ...RPET 10–12 ↑ .93 **b** "
- 773. 10-11 ↑ 1.05 <u>b'''</u>
- 775. 8-9 ↓ .61 **b**¦"
- 777. 10-11 ↓ .85 b "
- 781. *Obv*: DNLE... 9-11 ↓ .86 <u>" E</u>
- 783. *Obv*: DN...O

 11–12 ↑ 1.12 <u>"</u> E

```
784. Obv: DN...
      11-12 ↑ .83 "|E
 786. Obv: DN...
             ↓ .4I <u>"|E</u>
       8-9
788. Obv: D...
       9–10 ↑
                .89 "∣E
 790. Obv: D...
      10-11 ↓ .79 "|E
792. Obv: .NL...
       9–11 ↑ .69 "|E
794. Obv: .NL...
       9-II \ .70 "|E
796. Obv: ...EO...AV.
             ↓ I.I7 <u>"|</u>E
      IO
798. Obv: ...EO
            ✓ I.03 <u>"|E</u>
     ΙI
800. Obv: ...E.
      8-10 ∠ .83 "|E
802. Obv: ...E.
      8-9
             ↓ .59 "|E
804. Obv: ...E.
      9-11 ↓ .69 <u>"</u>|E
806. Obv: ...O
     10-11 ↓ .90 "|E
808. 10-11 † 1.15 "|E
810. 10-11 ↑ 1.10 "|E
     8-11
812.
                .59 <u>"|</u>E
814. 9-11
                .84 "|E
816. 10-11
                .67 ''|E
                .79 <u>"</u>|E
818. 9-10
             \downarrow
820. 10
             ↓ 1.51 <u>"</u>|E
     9-10
822.
             ↓ I.I4 "|E
824. 10
             ↓ .85 "|E
```

7 ⁸ 5.	Obv: D			
	9-11	1	·75	<u>" E</u>
7 ⁸ 7.	Obv: D	N.	• •	
	11-13			<u>" E</u>
789.	Obv: D			
	10-11			<u>" E</u>
791.	Obv:.			// L =
	II			E
793.	Obv: .			// LE
	9-10			16
795.	.N			// I E
707	10-11 <i>Obv</i> :.			15
7 97·	10-11			"IF
799.	Obv: .			
799.			1.12	" E
80I.	Obv: .			
	9–10			" E
803.				
	IO	\	.89	" E
805.	Obv:	.С)	
	IO-II	1	1.36	" E
807.	Obv: .	C)	
	10	\downarrow	·74	" E
809.	9–10	↑	1.08	<u>" E</u>
811.	IO-II	↑	1.07	" E
813.	IO-II	↑	1.03	<u>" E</u>
815.	9		1.07	
817.	7-9	\downarrow	.63	"/E
819.		\downarrow		" E
	9–11	↓		
823.	-		I.II	" E
82 5 .	10	\	.92	<u>" E</u>
~ - J.		*	•9~	

```
826. 10−11 / .54 "|E
828. 10−11 / .87 "|E
830. 10−11 ∠ .80 "|E
             1.15 "|E
              .89 "|E
              .79 "|E
     7-11 ↓ .64
     9
           ↑ I.05
    10-11 / .93
     9-10 / 1.08
     9–10 ↑ .88
     8-9 \ 1.45
    10
           ↓ .88
```

832. 10-11 834. 10-11 836. IO 838. *Obv*: DNL-... 840. *Obv*: DN... 842. *Obv*: DN... 844. Obv: ..LEO... 846. *Obv*: ... OSPFA... 848. *Obv*: ...V. 850. *Obv*: ...EO 852. *Obv*: ...EO ↓ .84 10 854. *Obv*: ...E. 10-12 1.19 856. *Obv*: ...E. 9–10 ↓ .50 858. *Obv*: ...O 10-11 1 1.09 860. *Obv*: ... O 10 ↓ I.00 862. 9-11 ↑ .54 864. 9–10 1 .55

827. 9−10 **/** .99 " **E** 829. 10-11 / 1.06 " E .63 "|E 831. 7-12 .84 "|E 833. 10-11 835. 10 1.04 "|E 837. *Obv*: DNL...G 11-12 1 .70 839. *Obv*: DN... 9-11 ↑ .43 841. *Obv*: DN... 9-11 / .60 843. *Obv*: DN... 10 / 1.31 845. Obv: ..LE... 9-10 ↓ .84 847. *Obv*: ... SPFAVG 8-10 1.12 $849. \ Obv: \ldots G$ 8-11 ↓ .82 851. *Obv*: ...EO IO 1 .90 853. *Obv*: ..E. **1.33** 10 855. Obv: ...E. 9-11 ↓ .87 857. *Obv*: ...O 9-10 \ .67 859. *Obv*: ...O 9 861. *Obv*: ...O 10 ✓ I.2I 863. 10 .70

865. 8-9

.43

1

866.	IO	↑ I.oo	867.	<i>7</i> –9	↑	.63
868.	8	† . 7 8	869.	10	↑	1.06
870.	9–11	† 1.04	871.	10-11	↑	.82
872.	10	↑ 1.09	873.	10-11	↑	.76
874.	9–10	↓ .67	875.	9-10	↓	.49
876.	9–10	↓ .66	877.	9	\	.72
878.	11–12	↓ 1.06	879.	9	↓	.51
88o.	8–9	↓ .75	881.	8	↓	.65
882.	8–9	↓ .95	883.	10	1	1.21
884.	9–10	.98	885.	9–11		.80

Same Type (Barbarous)

886.
$$9-10 \rightarrow .50$$

Anepigraphic. Two emperors seated on throne, facing, nimbate, each holding transverse scepter; above, cross. Sab. NOT; CK 227646

Reverse illegible

888. <i>Obv</i> : .NL	889. <i>Obv</i> :L-E.
10–11 .87	9–10 .71
890. <i>Obv</i> : EO	891. <i>Obv</i> :EO
11–12 1.37	9–10 1.23
892. <i>Obv</i> :E.	893. <i>Obv</i> :EO
9–10 .50	9-12 .49
894. <i>Obv</i> :E.	895. <i>Obv</i> : O
9 .70	10–12 .72

⁴⁶ Although the obverse legend is not visible, the style and fabric of the coin leave no doubt that this is one of Leo's issues. A further description of the type occurs in CK p. 44. The unique specimen in V attests the rarity of issue. If the ascription to Leo is correct, the figures represented may be Leo himself on the right and his grandson, Leo, on the left. Leo died February 3, 474. He coopted his grandson as Augustus the previous October. The coin must fall between these dates and represent the Emperor's last issue. What may be part of a letter appears in the lower right field.

О



ZENO

Catalogue

(V 1) within wreath

896.
$$Obv$$
: ...ZENO... $\frac{1}{KOC}$ 897. Obv : ...ZEN... 7-9 \downarrow .43 898. Obv : ...VG

(V 2) within wreath

*899.
$$9-11 \downarrow .71 \frac{1}{.OC}$$

900. $Obv: ...A..$

8-10 \ .49

901. $Obv: ...ONPFAVG$

902. $Obv: ...NPER$

10-12 \ 1.03

904. $9-10 \uparrow .91$

10-11 \ .83

905. $Obv: ...ONP..VG$

906. $Obv: ...PEVG$

907. $Obv: ...ES...$

908. $7-10 \downarrow .86$

909. $10 \uparrow .80$

910. $9-10 \downarrow .83$

or (V 1, 2) within wreath

912.
$$Obv$$
: ...NONP 913. Obv : ...N... 9-11 \(\) .83 8-10 \(\) .42 914. 8-9 \(\) .57

(V 3) within wreath

915.
$$Obv$$
: DNZ... 916. 11–12 \uparrow .80
10 \uparrow .88
917. 8–10 \downarrow .63 918. 9 \downarrow .68
919. 7–8 \swarrow .25 920. 8–9 .59

(V 3) within reel border

921.

$$8-9$$
 \uparrow
 .75
 \downarrow
 922.
 $7-8$
 .30
 \downarrow

 923.
 9
 \uparrow
 .63
 \downarrow
 924.
 $8-9$
 \uparrow
 1.04
 \downarrow

 925.
 9
 \uparrow
 .96
 926.
 $8-9$
 \uparrow
 .54

 927.
 $8-9$
 \downarrow
 .60
 928.
 $8-9$
 \downarrow
 .58

 929.
 8
 \downarrow
 .43
 930.
 $8-9$
 \downarrow
 .62

 931.
 8
 \downarrow
 .55
 932.
 $8-10$
 \downarrow
 .58

 933.
 $8-9$
 \nearrow
 .55
 934.
 $9-10$
 \searrow
 .97

 935.
 $6-7$
 .25

(V 4) within wreath

*936.
$$Obv: \dots AVG$$
 $II-I2 \uparrow .85 \downarrow$
938. $Obv: DN \dots$
 $8-I0 \downarrow .43$
940. $Obv: \dots OPF \dots$
10 $\downarrow .86$
942. $8-I0 \uparrow .50$
945. $8 \uparrow .42$
946. $9 \uparrow .52$
947. $9 \uparrow .88$
948. $9-I0 \downarrow .81$
950. $7-9 \downarrow .31$
951. $8-9 \swarrow .57$
952. $8-9 \swarrow .51$
955. $8-9 \swarrow .50$
956. $9-I0 \circlearrowleft .56$

(V 4) within reel border

957.	Obv: .	N	• • •	958	958. <i>Obv</i> :FAV.				
	8-9	\downarrow	.58		8-10	↑	.20		
959.	8–9	↓	·54 - ·52 CV.	960	. 8	↑	.42		
961.	9–10	↑	.52 CV.	962	. 8	↑	.52		
963.	8	↑	.33	964	. 9	↑	.71		

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/T / http://hdl.handle.n	ommercial-ShareAlik
6 GMT / http://hdl.handle.n	nCommercial-ShareAlik
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965.	8	↑	.46	966.)–1 0	↑	.66
967.	8-9	↑	.47	968.	8–9	↑	.54
969.	9	↓	.69	970. 8	8–9	↓	.36
971.	8	↓	.72	972. 8	8–9	1	.76
973.	8	↓	∙34	974.	8–9	1	.76
975.	9	1	.31	976. 8	3		.33
977.	7-8		.57	978. 10)—II		.58
979.	8-9		.57	980. 8	3–9		.47
981.	9		.33	982.	9		.42
983.	8-9		.44				

or (V 3, 4) within wreath

$\sum_{i=1}^{\infty} F(V_5)$ within wreath

$\sum_{k=0}^{\infty} F_k(V_5)$ within reel border

990.
$$Obv$$
: ...NOPFAVG *991. Obv : DNZE...

9-10 \uparrow .57 $\frac{1}{THS}$

992. 7 -9 \uparrow .45

(V 6) within wreath

Indeterminate monogram of Zeno

994.
$$7-9 \downarrow .56 \frac{1}{\text{CVZ}}$$
 995. $Obv: ..ZEN...$ 10 .60

996.	7-8	.16	997.	8–9	.48					
998.	9	·47	999.	8	.26					
1000.	7-8	.88	1001.	6–9	.24					
Monogram of Zeno (Barbarous)										
1002.	9	.70								

Anepigraphic. Emperor in military dress, standing, facing, holding long cross in r., globe in l. Sab. 18

Emperor nimbate, standing, facing, holding labarum in l. and globus cruciger in r.47

*****1005. 9-10 ↓ 1.10

ZENO: HYBRID

Lion crouching 1., looking r; double border48

⁴⁷ The coin is apparently an unpublished specimen. Its general characteristics and similarity to the two preceding specimens make it obvious that it belongs to Zeno. The combination of labarum with globus cruciger may suggest imperial hegemony over the Church. Perhaps the issue is commemorative of Zeno's Henotikon and datable to 481 or shortly after. Because the coins showing the emperor with long cross and globe (1003, 1004) make a similar religious statement and are of the same style and fabric, perhaps they too should be assigned to the same period. P. Grierson, op. cit., p. 226, publishes another specimen of Zeno's small bronze showing the emperor nimbate, in short military tunic, standing facing, holding long cross in r., globus in l. In the left field is $\frac{w}{Z}$ and in the right $\frac{Q}{Z}$. The specimen in V has just the faintest suggestion of lettering on either side of the figure. All these coins show a consistency of style that sets them apart from the monogram issues of Zeno. If they are not medallic in character, they are most certainly to be considered special issues. They all seek to put forth a religious and political definition of the imperial office which only a major event in the reign, such as the Henotikon, could have prompted.

⁴⁸ The coin shows two borders, one reel, the other wreath. No chronological conclusions as to date of Leo's issues need be drawn from a hybrid combination of Zeno's head with Leo's lion reverse. The coin may have been struck early in the reign by using one of the old reverse dies of Leo which happened to hand. It may be the result of the testing procedure of a mint-worker.



Illegible Monograms (of LEO, ZENO, or AELIA ZENONIS)

Catalogue

1013. 7-9 .44

Illegible Monograms (of LEO, ZENO, or AELIA ZENONIS):

BARBAROUS

1014.
$$8-9$$
7.731015. 9.541016. $9-10$.791017. 11-131.451018. $9-11$.371019. 7.53491020. $7-8$.171021. $9-10$.601022. 10.64

BASILISCUS

(V I) within wreath

(V 2) within wreath

1029. 9 ↑ .87 1030. 8-II ↓ I.0I

49 Obverse is an epigraphic.



BASILISCUS AND MARCUS

KR (V 1) within wreath

1031. <i>Obv</i> : DNBASI	1032.	Obv: .E	BA.	
10−11 ↓ .91		10		
1033. <i>Obv</i> : ASILET	1034.	<i>Obv</i> :	.E7	ΓMAR
10–11 ↓ .71		II	↓ :	1.15
1035. <i>Obv</i> : ETMAR	1036.	Obv:	. AS	S
10–11 ↓ .68		9–10	↑	.67
1037. <i>Obv</i> :TM	1038.	8	↑	.67
10-11 ↑ .63				
1039. 10	1040.	9-11	↑	.69
1041. 7-9 🗸 .67				

Two emperors seated on throne, facing, nimbate, each holding globe in 1.50

AELIA ZENONIS

(V 1) within wreath

1043.	Obv: AZE.	NIS	1044.	Obv: A	ZEN	l
	10-12 ↑	·74		10-12	\downarrow	·75
* 1045.	Obv: AZE.	• •	1046.	Obv: A	ZE.	
	10 1	.69		IO	†	1.18
1047.	Obv: .ZE.	• •	1048.	Obv:	.0	NIS
	9–10 ↓	.72		11-12	†	.82
1049.	10-12 ↓	.58	1050.	10	1	.88

50 The piece is unpublished. The figures on the reverse are undoubtedly Basiliscus and his son, Marcus, whom he associated with him as Augustus. The omission of Marcus' name in the obverse legend should be noted. The type is reminiscent of the gold issue of Valentinian I (C. 66) and others where the emperors are depicted seated on a throne, both holding mappae in their upraised right hand. Cf. also Sab. 8 for Theodosius II. On our coin, however, the right arm is not upraised but held out to the side and the object held in the hand appears to be a globe. A solidus from Rome shows two emperors each holding globe in l. (RIC IX, p. 116, for Valentinian II).

(V 1) within pearl border

1051.
$$Obv$$
: AZEN...
 1052. Obv : AZE...

 9-10 \uparrow .91
 8 \uparrow .53

 1053. Obv : AZ...
 1054. Obv : ..EN..IS

 9 \uparrow .47
 10-11 \downarrow .40

 1055. Obv : ...ONIS
 1056. $7-8$.33

 10-12 \uparrow 1.19
 1058. 8 .72

LIBIUS SEVERUS

RE (V 1)⁵¹

1059.	10-11	↑	.94	1060.	8	↑	.96
1061.	IO-II		.95	1062.	9		.90

ROMAN, ILLEGIBLE

BARBAROUS VARIUM

Two emperors standing, facing, each with spear⁵²

bi This is the monogram of Ricimer, first identified by J. Friedländer (Dis Münzen der Ostgoten, Berlin, 1844, pp. 5f.). The bust on the obverse is Libius Severus III. A specimen appears also in Y (502, q.v.).

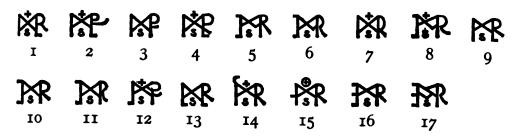
It should be compared with a piece of larger flan and poorer construction noted in BMC, No. 62, p. 25. The type appears derived from the GLORIA ROMANORVM issues of Honorius (C. 27), but because of style and size must have a later provenience.



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TABLE OF MONOGRAMS

MARCIAN



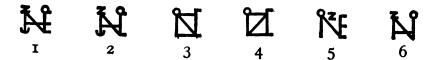
BARBAROUS



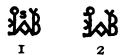
LEO



ZENO



BASILISCUS



AELIA ZENONIS



LIBIUS SEVERUS

RE

I

BASILISCUS AND MARCUS

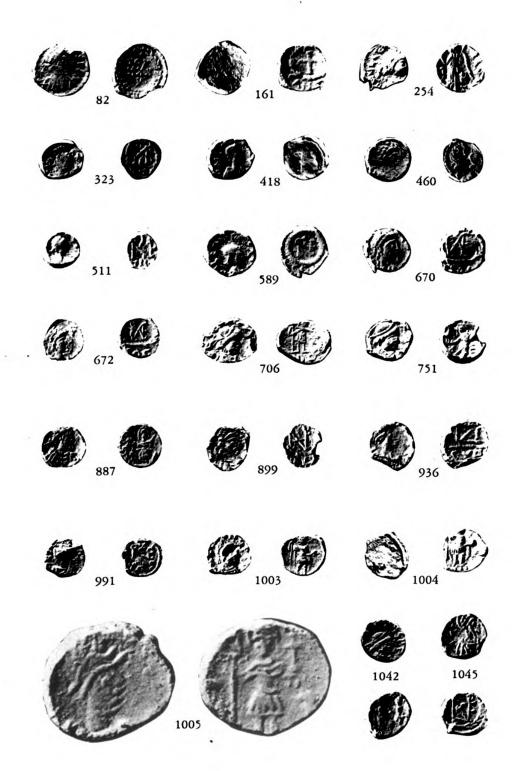
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VICTORY AS A COIN TYPE

By ALFRED R. BELLINGER
AND
MARJORIE ALKINS BERLINCOURT



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

NEW YORK

1962

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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS Number 149



NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

is devoted to essays and treatises on subjects relating to coins, paper money, medals and decorations.

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Victory as a Coin Type

By ALFRED R. BELLINGER
AND
MAR JORIE ALKINS BERLINCOURT



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
NEW YORK
1962



CJ 35 N9 No. 149

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CONTENTS

I.	THE GREEK CITIE	S	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	I
II.	THE KINGS	• •		• •	• •	• •		• •			• •	21
III.	ROME				• •	• •	• •		• •	• •	• •	44
	INDEX TO PLATES	3		• •	• •	• •		• •			• •	65
	PLATES											69

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I THE GREEK CITIES*

The choice of types for ancient coins was partly an aesthetic matter, a problem of choosing a design which would adequately fill a round space; it was also partly a matter of employing appropriate symbolism. The symbol might have a limited appropriateness, like the tortoise of Aegina, or a universal one, like the head of Athena which appears at many places and at many times. Sometimes the symbol disappeared with the passing of its particular occasion; sometimes, on the other hand, it continues to appeal to die-sinkers and those who control them so that it long outlasts its original appearance and comes to have connotations quite foreign to its first meaning. Such a symbol is that of victory, whose life as a coin type stretches from the end of the sixth century before Christ to the sixth century after Christ, and beginning as the Greek Nike becomes, at the end, a Christian angel.

* This study began as a paper in the Yale Graduate School by Dr. Marjorie Alkins (Berlincourt) in 1951. Its initial purpose was to discover, if possible, the appearance of the Victory of the Roman Senate which played so conspicuous a part in the religious controversy of the fourth Christian century. This proved to be an unexpectedly elusive question but in its pursuit the author gathered a large amount of information about the use of Victory on coins, which she presented as a history of the type. There have been some modifications both of form and of content in the intervening years and photographs for illustration have been collected to supplement her original descriptions. It would not be easy now to say how much of the present text is precisely as she wrote it. Since it has not been practicable to collaborate with her since her leaving New Haven, I may not always have represented her present opinions, and she cannot be charged with errors which I may have introduced. But the work is essentially hers and I am grateful for her permission to make this use of it.



Nike, who never appears in the Homeric epic, and is mentioned for the first time by Hesiod, owes the significance which she acquired, especially in Hellenistic and Roman times, neither to cult mythology nor to literature, but to formative art. In Hesiod (Theogony pp. 383f.) Nike is identified as the daughter of Pallas, the Titan, and Styx, being a sister of Zelos, Kratos and Bia. She was not considered anthropomorphic as were the other Olympian deities nor were any myths invented about her. Consequently her real meaning is known to us rather from vases and coins than from literature. Her function might be either warlike or peaceful; the verb νικάω and the substantive νίκη can be used either for victory in war or in any form of rivalry.2 From the artistic representations it becomes clear that she is not originally the granter of victory, but the bearer of it. She is not depicted in a fighting pose but she can be companion or attribute of all gods granting victory who were identified, as it were, with war. It is only natural, then, that Nike would be associated with those gods possessing special or highest prowess in war, and so she was particularly closely bound to Zeus and Athena. Pheidias emphasized her connection with the highest gods by placing Nike on the hand of Zeus in the great cult statue at Olympia. Her appearance in the vase painting depicting the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus is sufficient illustration of the constant and close association of Nike with Athena.³ She could, however, be connected with other victory-granting gods, as, for example, Demeter, Aphrodite



¹ In the literature of later times, when she is referred to as the daughter of Zeus, we may be sure that she is regarded as Athena-Nike.

² To conquer in battle or any contest: *Iliad* III, 439; XXIII, 656, 663 In war: *Iliad* VII, 26; Plato, *Laws* 641 A. In the games: Thucydides VI. 16; Pindar, *Isthmian* II, 13, VII (VI) 22, VI (V) 60. Bacchylides, Bergs 48, calls on Nike to look favorably on the chorus.

³ G. M. A. Richter, The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks, New Haven 1951, p. 341, fig. 3.

⁴ Cicero, In Verrem IV, 49, 110.

Urania as mistress of the Pontus,⁵ or Aphrodite Stratonikos.⁶ But though originally a mere symbol of victory with no mythological existence, she later becomes an individual divinity with her own attributes, such as the wreath and palm. She is winged, as are Hermes and Iris, the messengers of the gods, so that the divine orders may be carried with the swiftness of the wind.

The first appearance of Nike as a coin type (Plate I, I) is at Olympia about 510 B.C., where she is certainly intended to symbolize victory in the games. The figure is shown with wings spread, appearing to run to the left, in conformity with a very early convention for depicting flight. "The chiton," says Seltman, "hangs in a semi-circle between the feet suggesting the support a statue of this type would require." 10

- ⁵ Ludolf Stephani, "Erklärung einigen im jahre in südlichen Russland gefundener Kunstwerke" Compte-rendue de la Commission impériale archéologique pour l'année 1877, St. Petersbourg, 1880, pp. 246–262.
 - ⁶ Von Sallet, NZ VIII, p. 334.
- ⁷ Charles T. Seltman, *The Temple Coins of Olympia*, Cambridge, 1921. Reprinted from *Nomisma* VIII, IX, XI. He gives, pp. 1-3, five reasons for assigning the coins to Olympia rather than to Elis. His arguments and dates are here accepted.
- ⁸ F. Imhoof-Blumer, "Die Flügelstalten der Athena und Nike auf Münzen," NZ 1871, pp. 1-50 esp. 24 f., believes that Nike originally belonged to the games. The archaic sculptor Achermos is alleged to have made the first Nike with wings. Antony E. Raubitschek, Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis, Cambridge, 1949, pp. 484-487.
- 9 Richter, op. cit., pp. 62-64 discusses the development of the flying figure. Seltman's statement that this was "the only attitude by which flight could be suggested at this primitive age" is mistaken, as the contemporary Sicilian coins show.
- This raises the question, which Seltman does not pursue, of whether the coin type is derived from an actual statuary model. There is nothing mpossible in this, though it is not necessary; no one could assume a model n the round for the eagle on the obverse, and models in relief would have significance for the chiton as support. In any event, later modifications of the type show that the die-sinkers emancipated themselves from the culptural original if there was one.



In her outstretched hand is the wreath with which the victor is to be crowned. Her wings, except that they are more pointed, are just like those of the eagle on the obverse, with long primaries, short secondaries, and coverts expressed by dots, making a three-fold division. Her drapery is drawn with great delicacy. Altogether, she is a very attractive figure, and a very satisfactory design, "a scheme" as Miss Richter puts it, which is "a convention, highly decorative, far from naturalistic, but admirably serving its purpose." The figure is sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left, but the pose remains essentially the same throughout the early period.

An interesting parallel to this figure is the one on an electrum stater and hecta of Cyzicus (Plate I, 2) of a winged female figure running left with head turned back. In her right hand is the tunny fish which is the regular sign of Cyzicus, but she has no attributes by which she may be identified. Of this type William Greenwell says¹¹ "An archaic coin, and possibly not later than B.C. 500. The figure can scarcely represent Nike, for the action is inconsistent with such an attribution." He calls attention to related subjects on vases and to a winged female figure on coins attributed to Mallus in Cilicia. Ernest Babelon does not hesitate to call it Niké ailée, distinguishes it from the figure from Mallus whose wings are curled (Plate I, 3), and whom he declines to identify, and dwells on its relation to the statue from Delos



¹¹ The Electrum Coinage of Cyzicus, London, 1887 (reprinted from NC of 1887), p. 81.

¹⁸ RN 1903, pp. 421-423.

¹³ BMC Lycaonia, etc., Pl. XVI, 7. This is illustrated instead of the still earlier pieces, Pl. XV 10–12 (ca. 520–485 B.C.) because it is so much clearer. The series to which it belongs is dated by Hill ca. 485–425 B.C. He is dubious of the attribution to Mallus, which he retains with a question mark out of respect for the authority of Imhoof-Blumer (ibid., pp. cxviif).

¹⁴ Traité de Monnaies grecques et romaines, Part II, Vol. I, Paris, 1907. pp. 561-564.

and the statuette in Athens. However just his argument may be, the similarity of the positions at Cyzicus and Mallus is certainly striking, and suggests that the former, as well as the latter, has been much more affected by oriental influence than the art of Olympia. It is notoriously difficult to date the Cyzicene electrum. The last student of the series, Kurt Regling, believes that the group to which our type belongs falls between 550 and 480,15 and there seems to be no attempt at more accurate dating than that of Greenwood. It is possible, therefore, that the Cyzicene piece is earlier than the first Nike of Olympia. Yet it is hardly to be regarded as the ancestor of the Olympian series. Aside from the difference of position, the type of Cyzicus, whatever its inspiration, is a casual inclusion in a rich and diverse series, giving no information as to the nature of the goddess and suggesting no such relation with the town as that between Nike and the games.

The greater knowledge of anatomy of the 5th century led to a more gracious drawing of the figure at Olympia (PLATE I. 4). The gain in realism, however, meant an abandonment of the old convention expressing flight. This younger Nike may be understood as just alighting but hardly as speeding through the air. This was a matter of no great concern to the artist, however, for the symbol was now so well established that variation of pose could not obscure its meaning. The goddess therefore appears standing at rest (Plate I, 5), seated holding out the victor's wreath (Plate I, 6), seated with her head on her hand (PLATE I, 7) and seated holding a palm branch (Plate I, 8), this being "the most famous, the last and technically the most perfect of the Nikes of this mint." It was struck in a period which Seltman dates, on reasonable grounds, as 431-421 B.C. The previous reverse (PLATE I, 7) belonging to the series dated 452-432 B.C., is perhaps the most interesting type, and merits a detailed description. Nike, wearing a long chiton and peplos wrapped

15 "Der griechische Goldschatz von Prinkipo," ZfN 1931, p. 5, n. 1.



around her from waist to feet is seated right on a square block. Her hair is rolled, her head, facing slightly, is bent downward and she supports it with her left hand, her elbow resting on her knee. In her right hand, hanging down, she holds two short laurel twigs. As Seltman suggests, her attitude, were it not incompatible with the nature of the Olympian coinage, might be described as mourning. Since there is a growing tendency toward naturalistic treatment, it is a very attractive idea to suppose that the artist is here indicating the general feeling of Greece at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. This is the extreme of variation, and it must be confessed that the figure, charming as it is, would hardly be recognized as Nike except for the connection with her more explicit predecessors. And, indeed, all the poses except the first, with some archaizing imitations of it, have weakened the significance of the wings. These become purely decorative and not functional at all. Spread wings on an emissary descending from heaven is a pretty fancy; spread wings on a maiden sitting on a stone may be still a pretty pattern, but it is a physiological absurdity. The fact that Nike is so depicted shows what great freedom the die-sinker had within his general subject, and how much might be sacrificed to considerations of design.

The significance of the general subject, however, is kept steadily in mind, and it is interesting as relating not to the issuing authority of the coin, but to its recipient. Victory is granted not by Olympia, but by Zeus, and victory is bestowed not on Olympia but on the individual contestants who come to the games. The other associated types—Zeus and Hera, the thunderbolt and the eagle—express the august powers that ruled over the holy place, but Nike is a hope and a challenge to every aspirant who made his way to the great panhellenic testing grounds.

Perhaps because she was so satisfactory a choice for this place, Nike was not used as a type elsewhere in Greece pro-



per until much later. Instead, she appears in Sicily with a related though not identical meaning. The connection of Sicilians with Olympia is well known. Indeed, the suggestion has been made that the development of the games from a regional to a panhellenic celebration was largely due to them. 16 A victor from Syracuse is recorded as early as the middle of the 7th century. The lords of that great city had shown their enthusiasm for the races by selecting a chariot as the type of their tetradrachms. At about the time of the first appearance of Nike at Olympia she was introduced on the Syracusan coins at the top, crowning either the charioteer (PLATE II, I) or the horses (Plate II, 2).17 The connection with the Olympian games is thus clearly expressed. But Nike is modified both in appearance and in meaning. In place of the running figure is one nearly horizontal whose wings are either above and below (PLATE II, 1) or both above (PLATE II, 2). On some dies, to be sure, the figure is nearly upright (PLATE II, 3) and is more like that of the alighting Nike of Olympia (PLATE I, 4). The other pose, however, is much commoner. This has some advantages for the design as a whole, but the goddess herself is nothing like so satisfactory. It was not until the last third of the 5th century that the remarkable

¹⁶ T. J. Dunbabin, The Western Greeks, pp. 39f.

of proving that those of Olympia are earlier, but the logic of the types would seem to make it sure that the independent figure was the original, the accessory figure of Syracuse the adaptation. The dating and arrangement followed in general is that of Erich Boehringer, Die Münzen von Syrakus, Berlin, 1929. We need not assume any particular incident to account for the first appearance in Sicily, but Seltman (Greek Coins, p. 74) misses the point when he speaks of "a flying Nike, whose introduction is probably to be ascribed to the archaic horror vacui rather than to any historical episode." G. Taddei, "La Vittoria in volo," Italia Numismatica, No. 3 (Mantua, March 1950), p. 18, suggests that the inspiration for coin types is frequently paintings of which the pictures on vases are minor copies. Whatever the likelihood of his theory, he cites interesting parallels on vases to the horizontal flying Nikes of the Sicilian coins.



artists who signed their dies converted the figure, by careful modelling and skillful use of drapery, into a satisfactory representation of flight (PLATE III, 6).

In spite of the considerable freedom with which the type was developed, the early symbolism is clear and consistent. Nike is not now, as at Olympia, prepared to offer her wreath to the victor, whoever he may be. She is shown in the act of celebrating a particular triumph: that of the chariot from Syracuse. Her meaning is thereby made more pointed and more restricted. We need not assume that the coins were struck to celebrate the first Syracusan victory or any special subsequent one. It is sufficient that *some* Syracusan chariot should have won before the Sicilian lords presumed to borrow the Olympian type to be an adjunct of their own.

The example of Syracuse was very promptly followed by two of her neighbors, Leontini and Gela who copy her type with no significant changes. A more interesting case is that of Rhegium and Messana. In the early 5th century they were both in the power of the tyrant Anaxilas. 18 We know that it was he who struck in both cities coins showing a hare and a biga of mules, for a fragment of Aristotle, preserved in the lexicon of Pollux (V, 75) tells us that Anaxilas of Rhegium introduced hares into Sicily for the first time, and having won the race for mule cars at the Olympic games, put both hare and mule car on the coins of Rhegium. This victory Dunbabin would date in 480, which is suitable stylistically. Messana used exactly the same types as Rhegium, but the Sicilian city presently added a Nike, after the Syracusan fashion (PLATE II, 4) which the Italian city never did (PLATE II, 5).

These examples all show the same origin and meaning, but a very different Nike appears on an early coin of Acragas (PLATE II, 6). Here the ungainly attitude is not unlike that on the Syracusan coins and is more likely to have been de-

¹⁸ For this whole episode see Dunbabin, op. cit., pp. 387–398.



rived from them than from those of Olympia. But the significance is like neither. This Nike has no apparent connection with the games at all, for she is now used as an adjunct not to a victorious chariot, but to the crab which is the normal type of the city. Of course it is not impossible that there should have been a victory in the games here celebrated in this inappropriate fashion, but the effect certainly is to give to Nike a more generalized meaning and to seem for the first time to attach her, not to a particular event, but to a particular city. This is a very different thing from her appearance at Olympia where, as has already been pointed out, she belongs not to the place but to the contests.

Catana also presents the goddess under an unprecedented aspect. The obverse type is a man-headed bull, representing the river-god Amenanos, beneath him a fish, above, a heron or a water-plant, both signifying the marshes through which the stream makes its way. The earliest reverse is an original and unsuccessful attempt to depict flight (PLATE II, 7). The winged figure faces to the right, her wings filling the space behind her, her left arm held stiffly before her. The lower right is filled by a horizontal branch which she holds in her right hand and by a big shell. The inscription runs around the right edge. This strange attitude is varied on a litra of Camarina, 495-484 B.C. where the goddess is shown to the left or right, her wings spread before her and behind, with a swan in front of her (Plate III, 1). She seems to bear neither wreath nor palm, though the small scale makes it difficult to be sure. A later and softened version is found on a drachm of Camarina whose obverse is a poor copy of Cimon's facing head of Arethusa; Nike has here a fillet and caduceus and there is no object in the field before her (PLATE III, 2).

¹⁹ The conventional theory that the crab was the canting device of the City has lately been called in question by L. Lacroix, Revue belge de Numismatique 1950, pp. 5-11.



One obverse die of the Catana stater is used both with the flying Nike and with her successor, a Nike striding to the left carrying a fillet20 (Plate III, 3) which continues to be the type until 476 B.C. when Hiero of Syracuse drove the inhabitants out, changed the town's name to Aetna and introduced new types. This goddess may have been derived from the running figure of Olympia, though her appearance is quite different and no illusion of flight is created. Instead she seems to be hastening to meet the victor. But she and the flying Nikes of Catana and Camarina would seem to be connected only with victors from their particular towns. though they are not confined, as at Syracuse, to the celebration of a single event, even if it were the most splendid. We must suppose that their fillets and palms are offered to any son of the city who triumphed. Are they then the impartial, oecumenical goddess of Olympia, or have they a stricter connection each with her own town? The development of the obverse type of Catana is clear evidence that the latter is true. For above the back of the bull sometimes appears a little Nike, like that over the Syracusan chariot, flying to crown his head with a wreath (PLATE III, 4). Here is a conception much like that of the Nike under the crab of Acragas, but more specific. Coupled with the goddess on the reverse, it announces and foretells that the favor of Nike belongs to Catana by right. She has become a goddess whose association with a particular place is permanent, and we may suppose that the same is true of Camarina.

Still another important innovation occurs at Catana. The place of Nike crowning the man-headed bull is sometimes taken by Silenus, in a kneeling attitude, but not touching the bull's back, so that he must be considered, like her, an immortal power moving through the air. Now the importance of Silenus to Catana is made sufficiently clear by the use of his head as obverse type on the succeeding coins of

20 G. E. Rizzo, Monete greche della Sicilia, Pl. IX, 1, 2.



Aetna. Another divinity, then, may perform the function of Nike and crown the victor. It is not now nearly so clear that Nike and Silenus are merely emissaries of Zeus. It looks very much as though they were bestowing victory as well as marking it. The conception of Nike has grown more general and less precise.

As the 5th century advanced, the coinage of Sicily became more luxuriant, and Nike, like all other types, was affected by the progress of artistic imagination. There are no better known and no more brilliant specimens of early and late 5th century art at Syracuse than the Demareteion of 479 B.C. (PLATE III, 5), and the series of decadrachms initiated to commemorate the defeat of the Athenians in 413 B.C. (PLATE III, 6). Without embarking on the barren discussion of comparative merits, we may recognize that the later attention to detail has increased the interest of the figure of Nike, which is now drawn with great care. It does not follow, however, that her significance has increased. Indeed the symbolism has become so conventionalized as to lose contact with its origin. While Nike had disappeared from the Olympian coins toward the end of the first phase of the Peloponnesian war in 421 B.C., she continued to accompany the chariots of Syracuse. The tendency to maintain a successful and familiar type, which is an important element in numismatic history, carried this one through a period when Sicilian participation in the games in the Peloponnese is unlikely, and left it available to serve for the games which Syracuse herself organized. There is no point whichmarks the end of the connection with the Olympian games, so conspicuous in 510 B.C. Nike simply acquired, by constant repetition, a more general function which makes her association with the new games as appropriate as her connection with the old.

In the period of spectacular experimentation which extended from the late 5th century through the first half of



the 4th the use of Nike as a subsidiary to the type is widespread. The victory-crowned chariot (in which galloping horses replace the earlier walking ones) is confined to Sicily; on that island it is found on coins of Acragas, Camarina, Catana, Cephaloedium, Gela, Himera, Leontini (but not after 466), Messina, Panormus, Selinus, Thermae Himerensis (Naville Catalogue X [1925] no. 214). These exhibit many variations: the chariot is either to the right or to the left, Nike is either to the right or to the left, sometimes she crowns the horses and sometimes the charioteer, sometimes she bears a complete wreath and sometimes a fillet, sometimes she is not crowning the charioteer but handing the wreath to him, on one coin of Messana she is about to put the fillet on his head with one hand while she offers a wreath to him with the other (Plate IV, 1). A more extreme variation was invented by the artist Cimon at Syracuse. The goddess appears standing on the heads of the two near horses on the reverse of a piece with a celebrated facing head for obverse. and an equally unlikely pose shows her standing on the reins of the mule car at Messana (Plate IV, 2).

These are differences of varying degrees of artistic effectiveness which do not modify the earlier idea of Nike. Real modifications do appear, however. At Syracuse the artist Evainetos produced a die with an astonishing display of self-assurance, for the Nike flying over the chariot holds now not wreath or fillet, but a tablet bearing the name of Evainetos himself! (Plate IV, 3). Obviously her original function has been entirely forgotten. A less startling use of the tablet is found at Acragas, where it appears above the chariot with the city's name upon it; in this case Nike herself is the charioteer. Nike drives the chariot again at Gela when her place above the horses is taken by an eagle, that equivalent symbol of victory (Plate IV, 4). Finally, at Camarina, Nike is again crowning the charioteer, but this is now no mortal driver, but Athena herself (Plate IV, 5). In the ill-defined



imagination of the artist the bearer of victory is returning it to its divine source.

The parallel conception of Nike as attached to the community rather than to an event, already noticed in Catana, has its influence outside of Sicily. The man-headed bull which is the standard type of Naples is crowned by Nike in apparent imitation of the Sicilian ones though there is a century between them (PLATE IV, 6). On a 4th century coin of Heraclea in Lucania Nike is shown crowning the hero Heracles (Plate IV, 7) and on one of about the same time from Velia a little Nike flies over the city's lion (Plate IV, 8). But these two cases are somewhat different from the earlier ones. Nike is only one of a number of symbols used to accompany the main type, and though she is related to it in a way that the vase or owl or bucranium of Heraclea, the caduceus or trident or wheat-ear of Velia are not, it is by no means impossible that she is merely the mint magistrate's sign, like them, and therefore no organic part of the type. That she does occur as a magistrate's symbol on later coins is, of course, well known and is strikingly illustrated by gold of Philip II of Macedon where the little goddess is placed in a preposterous context, for she is about to be trampled by the galloping horses (Plate V, 1).

At Carthage, on the other hand, the connection is closer. The standard reverse of Carthage is a horse, or the head or forepart of a horse, generally combined with a palm tree. Nike is frequently seen flying above the horse, or its forepart, crowning it with a fillet (Plate V, 2, 3) or in front of and crowning a standing horse (Plate V, 4). This, like the series of Naples, is a continuation of the doctrine of Catana that victory is an essential possession of the city.

We must now discuss a very interesting but abnormal series: that of the didrachms of Terina in Italy, which is not connected with the Nikes of Sicily and is affected by the later Olympian types only. The first issue, of about



480 B.C., ²¹ raises a curious problem, for the standing figure on the reverse is without wings, yet her identity is in no doubt, for the name NIKA is beside her (PLATE V, 5). This has, of course, roused recollections of Nike Apteros at Athens, and encouraged the theory of an ancient cult of wingless victory at Terina.²² This is not provable and not particularly likely, but the question has little importance to us, for after this first experiment the artists replaced the figure with a maiden with wings, (Plate V, 6-8). Three other pieces of the first period, which lasted until about 450 B.C., are in three different attitudes: the first holds a wreath and branch, the second a branch in both hands (PLATE V, 6), the third a wreath alone, one hand being concealed in the folds of her chiton. These are all suitable enough for Nike, as is the single branch in the hand of their wingless elder sister, and Regling is doubtless right in concluding that the three unnamed figures are also representations of the same divinity. But there is no suggestion as to how she is to exercise her function. There are no games here, still less any prospect of war at this period. The recorded history of the town is bare enough²³ and would give us no reason to suspect the brilliance to which the coins testify. There may well have been some local meaning which now eludes us but the prima facie significance of the obverse type is to attribute victory in general to the nymph Terina whose portrait appears on the obverse. This close connection of Nike with the city herself is emphasized on the succeeding issues which fill the century down to the sacking of Terina

- ²¹ Kurt Regling, *Terina*, Berlin, 1906, is an exhaustive study of the whole series. The dates and sequence there given are adopted here.
- ²² R. S. Poole, "Athenian Coin Engravers in Italy," NC 1883 pp. 269-277. It is more reasonable to suppose that this earliest coin shows a combination of Nike and the city goddess such as is evident later. We should also remember the remark of Pausanias (III, 15, 7) who explains the absence of wings as an artistic indication of the reluctance of the Athenian people to allow Nike to leave Athens.
 - 23 Regling, op. cit., has collected all of it into pp. 3-5.



by the Bruttii in 356 B.C. With one exception the figures retain their wings and often their wreaths, but they usually hold a caduceus and their poses hardly suggest the bearer of victory. One variety, with wings spread on both sides (PLATE V, 7), does indeed recall the Olympian Nike seated on a pedestal (Plate I, 6), but others, whether standing, or seated on an overturned jar, as they frequently are (PLATE V. 8), have a charming playfulness about them quite out of keeping with the normal conception of Victory. Many of the dies show (as does Plate V, 8) a little bird perched on the maiden's hand in a manner which suggests her humanity rather than her divinity—or at least a diversion of her divinity beyond that of even the latest Olympian Nike. Regling's opinion is that we have here a conflation of divine persons, Nike and Terina, and this is strongly supported by one coin on which the seated figure is wingless while a little Nike flies up behind her to crown her (PLATE V, 9). This is the idea already familiar to us from the crowned bulls of Catana and Naples. The types of Terina have only carried it one step farther and not merely claimed a special relation between Nike and their city but actually identified the two.

The issues of Terina are perhaps the clearest demonstration of the independence of the artist through the 5th and 4th centuries. We need not suppose that it was the die-sinkers themselves who invented the device of presenting their city as the goddess of victory herself but, the device once established, they clearly had great latitude in modifying it, and they were certainly virtuosi who deserved such confidence. That they were not impervious to the influence of other mints is proven by comparison of Plates I, 6; V, 7. This attitude of the figure at Terina is the only one which displays wings to right and left since the standing goddess of the first

²⁴ On the question of artists' signatures at Terina, not pertinent here, and on the whole consideration of style see Regling, op. cit., pp. 32-60 and H. von Fritze and H. Gaebler, "Terina," Nomisma I (1907), pp. 14-22.



period (Plate V, 6), and one can hardly doubt that the Olympian coin served as a model for that from Terina. But it is a model not to be slavishly followed, and it is an isolated instance. Indeed this freedom of the artist is the most important characteristic of the appearance of Nike in the period with which we have been dealing. He was quite competent to adapt his material to his design, and if he sometimes copied, as the early chariots of Gela and Leontini copied those of Syracuse, it was from choice and neither from poverty of imagination nor compulsion from higher authority.

Of course there were forms of Nike other than those popular with the die-sinkers. One has only to recall the variety of attitudes on the balustrade of the temple of Athena-Nike at Athens to realize that we must not expect every sculptural treatment to have its reflection on the coins.²⁵ Here and there, however, a type does appear not connected with any of the commoner treatments with which we have been dealing. An instance of this is the unique gold piece of Abydus of the late 5th or early 4th century (Plate V, 10) showing Nike kneeling upon a ram that she is about to sacrifice. Whether this is an original conception of the artist or whether it goes back to an earlier group we cannot tell. There is a similar group, in which Nike is slaying a bull, reappearing frequently on later gems, ²⁶ but the only other occurrence of

²⁵ Leonida Marchese, "Su alcuni tipi monetali della Vittoria derivati da prototipi sculturali," *Italia Numismatica*, No. 2 (Mantua, Feb. 1950), p. 11 holds the extreme position that most of the types which do not derive from the Nikes of Paeonius and Samothrace are reflections of the Athena-Nike balustrade. The tendency to see copying in every similarity comes from a misunderstanding of the talent and the function of the die-sinker There is also the use of Nike in vase painting which presents much too large a field to be studied here. Paul Knapp, *Nike in der Vasenmalerei*, Tübingen, 1876.

²⁶ A sketch by Cecil Smith, "Nike Sacrificing a Bull," *Journal of Helless Studies* VII (1886), pp. 275–285, points out that the kneeling position



just this coin type is on a gold stater of Lampsacus (Plate V, II) which is certainly a direct copy, made about 380 B.C.²⁷ The pattern is a very effective one and perhaps we should be satisfied to leave it at that without pressing the symbolism too far. The sacrifice of a victim is an obviously appropriate way of celebrating a victory; to have the sacrifice performed by Victory herself is a symbolic ellipsis very unlike the frank and obvious meaning of the Nike of Olympia. There may, of course, have been local conditions which made it all plain to the users of the coins, but the precise meaning is lost to us. We may remark, however, that the purely decorative element is quite as strong here as at Terina and may quite possibly dominate the symbolic. Is it an aspect of this that Nike now appears nude to the waist, whereas at Abydus and in the West she is clothed?²⁸

There is another gold piece of Lampsacus (Plate V, 12) which is connected with a new motif altogether. So far the only specific idea involved in the coins we have considered

Nike is more appropriate to the smaller animal, and suggests that the coin, and the late Italian vases on which a ram is shown rather than a bull, may represent the earlier form of which the bull is a later modification. Smith supposes that the first preserved appearance of the group is on the balustrade of the Athena-Nike temple, but this is probably a Roman restoration (Stanley Casson, Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum, Cambridge, 1921, II, 170f.).

27 Agnes Baldwin (Brett), "An Unedited Gold Stater of Lampsakos," ZfN 32 (1920), 7. The whole of the gold coinage of Lampsacus is treated by Mrs. Brett in the American Journal of Numismatics 53 (1924), 1-77. "Lampsakos: the Gold Staters, Silver and Bronze Coinages."

It seems, pace the British Museum Catalogue that the Nike of Terina always wears a chiton. It is certain that she generally does so, and it seems inlikely that a detail of such importance would be subject to the artist's whim. But the chiton is represented as very light and transparent and with a little wearing of the coin it would become invisible. At least there a great difference between the maiden of the Lampsacus coin and the mply clothed ladies of the Athena-Nike balustrade.



is that of the games. Though it has been weakened and generalized it has not been replaced by anything recognizably military. But there are exceptions to this rule. On a rare hemidrachm of Camarina Nike is shown with a large round shield (Plate VI, 1). This appears to be the first numismatic instance of the warlike aspect of Nike which later becomes so very prominent. It must be confessed, however, that since the hemidrachm is of about the same time as the drachm of Camarina already mentioned (PLATE III, 2) it introduces the possibility that the latter, and perhaps other examples of the goddess alone, may have had a military meaning which we should have had no reason to suspect. We are helped to define this particular victory by late 5th century litrae and bronzes from Himera (Plate VI, 2) on which Nike (named by the inscription) carries an aphlaston. Since it was customary to tear off this ornament attached to the stern of a war vessel and display it as a sign of victory, scholars are agreed in the doctrine that the aphlaston signifies a naval victory.29 Now it is not difficult to decide what victory would be celebrated in the late 5th century by Himera. We know from Thucydides VII, I that she joined Gylippus. She was his headquarters while he was waiting to make his way into Syracuse, supplied him with a contingent and furnished arms for the crews of his ships. Later, when she attempted to send him reinforcements, they were ambushed by the Sicels on instructions from Nicias and cut to pieces. The final defeat of the Athenians, therefore, would be an obvious cause of joy in Himera, and when it is remembered that Camarina also was an ally of Syracuse in 413 (Thucydides VII, 58) it is clear that these lesser issues were saying in their own was what Syracuse said with the great issue of decadrachms, and

battle of Himera of 480 B.C. is intended, but the coin cannot be so early He can suggest no explanation for the youth riding a goat on the obverse nor does there seem to be any later attempt to identify him.



that the little Nikes are here for the first time unmistakable goddesses of victory in war.^{29a}

Another coin to which a warlike significance has been attached is an electrum stater of Cyzicus showing Nike kneeling and holding an aphlaston, with the city's regular tunny fish beneath (PLATE VI, 3). There is difference among the authorities as to its date, and consequently, as to its meaning. Without going into the guesses of earlier writers, we may cite William Greenwell,30 who thinks it may have been struck to commemorate the victory of Alcibiades over the Spartan fleet off Cyzicus in 410. "This," says Mr. Greenwood, "is perhaps the first instance where Nike appears on a coin as the goddess of victory in war. On the coins of other Greek states she seems to be, up to this date and onwards, until the time of Alexander and the Diadochi, the goddess of agonistic victory." Ernest Babelon endorses this judgment,31 though he mentions the other dates that have been suggested, 394 and 375 since 410 seems to him too early for the style. Von Fritze, without committing himself to any specific occasion, lists the piece in his Class III, which he dates ca. 475-ca. 410, thus excluding the later suggestions. 32 Finally Mrs. Brett, 33 gives her opinion that the stater is of fourth century style and "doubtless commemorates the victory of Conon and Pharnabazus over the Spartans off Cnidus in 304." In spite of this variation of the date, there is unanimity in the belief that a naval victory is intended. We have

- ^{29a} It should be mentioned that the Nike on the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia may commemorate a 5th century military victory. Marcus N. Tod, A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions, Oxford, 1933, no. 27, pp. 43f., no. 65, pp. 146-148.
 - 30 The Electrum Coinage of Cyzicus, pp. 74f.
 - 31 Traité, Part II, Vol. II, Paris, 1910, pp. 1423f.
- 32 "Die Elektronprägung von Kyzikos," Nomisma VII, p. 12, no. 154 rd p. 34.
- 33 "The Aphlaston on Greek and Roman Coins," Transactions of the **2ternational Numismatic Congress, London, 1938, p. 24.



just seen, however, that it is not the first instance of this symbolism.

To return to our second Lampsacus (Plate V, 12) gold piece; her significance is certainly clear enough for she is kneeling before a trophy of arms to the top of which she is nailing a helmet. Like the earlier goddess, she is nude to the waist, and the artist's interest has obviously been quite as much directed to decoration as to symbolism. At the same time it is hard to believe that she does not refer to a specific event of local importance. The event has not been identified, but Mrs. Brett's calculations would place it about 355. Before Alexander, then, the military function of Nike, destined to loom so large in her symbolism, was already established on the coin types.

³⁴ In publishing the coin (NC VI [1843] p. 156) H. P. Borrell says only "on the obverse of this interesting coin is seen a victory erecting a trophy which probably alludes to some victory by which the people of Lampsacus received some signal benefit or in which its citizens had participated and acquired honour to their native city." The single known specimen was found in Nubia! Borrell comments on the fact that the gold of Lampsacus is regularly found far from that city (though it is not confined to Syria and Egypt as he supposed). Doubtless this wide dispersion of the gold pieces had its influence on the tendency to make their apparent connection to Lampsacus subordinate to their intrinsic beauty.

35 "Lampsacus: the Gold Staters, Silver and Bronze Coinages," AJN 1924, pp. 16-18.



II THE KINGS

The accession of Alexander the Great opens a new epoch in the history of our type. The Nike which appears on the reverse of the gold, an innovation to Macedonian issues (PLATE VI, 4), will be discussed in my forthcoming Essays on the Coinage of Alexander the Great.

But there is one matter of great importance for our present purpose. The gold of Philip had displayed a head of Apollo and a chariot: a guardian deity and a memorial of his own glory—a divine effigy and a personal one. Nike is to Alexander what the winning chariot had been to his father. The idea underlying the choice of this type is unprecedented. Though the concept of Nike had widened as it spread from Elis to Sicily and South Italy, where her increasing generalization enabled her to commemorate any kind of victory, she never became a completely abstract attribute, always rather retaining her relation to some specific event. It is true that she might have a particular temporary association with some city, some other deity or some mint magistrate, and the last phenomenon occasionally appears under Alexander.³⁶ But the type, as it appears on Alexander's coins embodies a new and abstract idea, for now she has become one of his attributes or possessions and belongs to him, presented not in commemoration of a particular victory, but to signify the career of conquest that he set out for himself. The audacious assumption was brilliantly fulfilled, and it was proper that the great car that bore his coffin should have been decorated at each of its corners with a golden Nike.³⁷

³⁶ F. Lederer, "Eine Goldstater Alexanders des Großen" ZfN 1922, p. 85, Pl. VII, 1. See also Plate VI, 5, a tetradrachm of Tarsus.

37 Diodorus, XVIII, 26, 6.



Alexander had an abundance of good generals but none so clearly superior to his fellows that he could be considered a natural successor, and the ambiguous indications given by the conqueror on his deathbed showed that there was no single person on whom could be concentrated either his hopes or his fears for the continued power of his family. It soon became apparent that there was no lack of individual ambition among his followers, but their uneasy compromise by which his half-brother Philip and his posthumous son Alexander were made equal sovereigns proved that his estate was still too great a power to be challenged by any of his subordinates. The empire was still his as the victory had been his. Of this the coins are evidence; the same types were still minted. To be sure, the legend BAΣIΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ would designate the young son just as well as the dead conqueror. In addition the types were universally known and established as an international currency which might be continued and was continued without raising the dangerous question of the rival claims of conflicting generals. Supported by the deification of the hero and the cult that was beginning to be established this continuation outlasted the life of the younger Alexander and as late as 280 B.C. a tetradrachm from Pergamum still purports to be the issue of his father.* The position of Philip III, however, raised a problem. Though he had ardent supporters among the Macedonian soldiery his estimation in the eyes of the rest of the world can never have been as high as that of Alexander's son. If the imperial coins bore only Alexander's name it would certainly make Philip seem to be an inferior. On the other hand if different types were chosen for Philip it would suggest a most undesirable division between the co-rulers. The solution was t strike the same types, but, on some of the coins, replace the name of Alexander with that of Philip. It was a natural

38 WSM, p. 317, no. 1530. Alexander staters also are found after 300 B. E.T. Newell, The Coinages of Demetrius Poliorectes, Oxford, 1927, p. 25, no. 1.



compromise and was doubtless accepted by the citizenry without much attention but, in the case of Nike, it really emphasizes how much the coinage was that of Alexander's estate instead of that of his successors. No fortune and no quality of the young Philip could entitle him to lay claim to Nike as his. So far as his name beside her is appropriate at all, it is so because his great forerunner had made her the expected symbol of royalty.

The death of Philip III occurred in 317 B.C., that of Alexander IV in 311 B.C. With their violent removal perished all hope of maintaining the unity of the empire for the legitimate house, and the successors were left to work out their opposed ambitions, and the change of conditions is presently apparent in the coins. Ptolemy, who had already replaced the head of Heracles on the tetradrachms with a head of Alexander in elephant-skin headdress, now changed his reverse types as well, choosing for his silver first Athena Promachos³⁹ and then an eagle; for his gold, a prow, then a quadriga of elephants, then an eagle like that on the silver. One issue of the old gold type is dated after 311 B.C.,40 and, on coins from Cyrene struck between 308 and 304 B.C., the familiar Nike appears with the name of Ptolemy.41 This experiment, in obvious imitation of the practice of Philip III was taken up by other rulers of the time, but with Ptolemy it was of brief duration and thereafter Nike is abandoned, never to reappear on the coins of the kings of Egypt. 42 That land, therefore, has nothing to contribute to the history of her use as a type.

- ³⁹ Or Athena Alkidemos, cf. Agnes Baldwin Brett, "Athena Alkidemos of Pella," ANSMN IV (1950), pp. 55-72.
- ⁴⁰ J. N. Svoronos, Τὰ Νομίσματα τοῦ Κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων Athens, 1904, Part II, p. 9, no. 36, Pl. II, 16.
- ⁴¹ Svoronos, ibid., pp. 11f., nos. 61-64, Pl. III, 2-5. Omission of the title Βασιλέως indicates a date before 306 B.C.
- ⁴² A trivial exception is furnished by a little bronze of Cleopatra VII struck at Berytus in 31 B.C. with a most inappropriate Nike. Svoronos, ibid., Pl. LXIII, 20.



At about the time that Ptolemy's new reverses were appearing (310-304 B.C.), an unprecedented Nike, quite unrelated to the Macedonian, was struck by Agathocles of Syracuse to commemorate his victory over the Carthaginians in Africa (Plate VI, 6). This goddess, like the kneeling figure of Lampsacus (Plate V, 12) is nude to the waist and is about to nail a helmet to the top of a trophy. It would be rash to insist that the later coin was influenced by the earlier since we have no evidence that the earlier ever found its way to Sicily, but it must be remarked that this gold and silver of Agathocles shows a figure very different from the earlier tradition of Syracuse and from the contemporary currency of the East, except for issues of Seleucus I from Susa and Persepolis which will be presently considered. Whatever its inspiration, the Sicilian issue shares with the Lampsacene gold a character of which the decorative element is quite as important as the symbolic.

Associated with this type for silver is a gold didrachm of Agathocles with a young head in elephant's skin headdress on the obverse and, on the reverse, a winged Athena, armed, with an owl at her feet (Plate VI, 7).⁴³ This is no abstract victory but Athena Promachos (or Alkidemos) imitated from the tetradrachms of Ptolemy I. The striking similarity of the types shows the close connection of Agathocles with the Egyptian monarch and also places him in the succession to Alexander the Great, which may well have been his ambition since he was highly covetous of honor. Arthur J. Evans⁴⁴ thinks that the occasion for this coin was the period after the murder of Ptolemy's officer during the African campaign when Agathocles was left without a rival and might consider himself in the position of a Diadochus of



⁴³ Walther Giesecke, Sicilia Numismatica. Die Grundlagen des griechtschen Münzwesens auf Sicilien, Leipzig, 1925, Pl. 21, 7.

^{44 &}quot;Contributions to Sicilian Numismatics," NC 1894, pp. 237-242.

African soil.⁴⁵ It was the constant aim of Agathocles, a novus homo, to establish his position among the Macedonian princes, and it was following in their footsteps that he took the title of king soon after 305 B.C. The most interesting thing about the present type for us is that the addition of wings to Ptolemy's Athena gives the same kind of conflation of Nike with another deity which we have already met at Terina and which becomes common in the Roman empire.

Although the coinage of Ptolemy was the first to break from the tradition of Alexander, independent paths were eventually followed by some of his rivals also. There are two dates of capital importance for us in the early history of the successors: 306-305 B.C. and 301 B.C. The former is the time when the generals took the title of king, Cassander in Macedonia, Lysimachus in Thrace, Antigonus and his son Demetrius in Asia, Seleucus in Babylonia, and Ptolemy in Egypt. With Ptolemy we have already dealt; Cassander does not concern us for he always adhered to the types and name of Alexander. Almost the same can be said of Antigonus, but he is responsible for one interesting though ephemeral variation. In 306 Demetrius won a great naval victory over Ptolemy off Salamis in Cyprus and in that year Antigonus founded the city of Antigonea on the Orontes to serve as the capital of his empire. On the first tetradrachm issued from the new city the Zeus, in other respects indistinguishable from that of Alexander, holds not an eagle but a little Nike about to place a wreath on his head46 (PLATE VI, 8). This is her attitude on Pheidias' great statue of Zeus at Olympia,

- 45 Evans calls attention to the owl on the didrachm as a possible reniniscence of whatever actually lay behind the fantastic account in Diolorus (XX, II, 3f.) of Agathocles letting loose owls in the face of the Carthaginians in order to encourage his soldiers at the battle of Tunis gainst Hanno and Bodmilcar.
- 46 WSM, p. 84, no. 1, with the brilliant demonstration, pp. 84-89, that hese issues are in fact the coins of Antigonus though they never bear his ame.



if we may judge by the reproduction on a Roman coin⁴⁷ and it is doubtless from that source that Antigonus got the idea of the device for celebrating his son's great accomplishment in establishing command of the seas. It must be admitted that the theology of the group is somewhat obscure. If Zeus be the author of Victory and Nike his agent why is he also the recipient? Presumably the problem was settled to the satisfaction of the devout at Olympia and Antigonus adopted the solution with the goddess. In any case his natural conservatism reasserted itself at once, and his subsequent tetradrachms from Antigonea like those from all his other mints show the usual eagle on the hand of Zeus.⁴⁸

Seleucus took the more extreme step of announcing his new position on his coins at once. From his newly founded capital of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris he put out gold pieces with the familiar Nike but with the inscription BASIAEQS SEAEY-KOY. 49 Whether or not this was later than the Ptolemaic gold from Cyrene it is to be distinguished by the use of the royal title and by the fact that it remained the device of Seleucus for all his reign and from all his mints. It is also to be distinguished from the same convention used in the name of Philip. Instead of a weak child whose only hope lay in the continuance of tradition, the issuer is now a successful general whose capture of Babylon became the starting point of a new era and who might with justice feel that victory was his by right. Moreover, about 303 B.C. he adopted, at the same mint, the Zeus Nicephorus which Antigonus had in-



⁴⁷ Richter, The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks, fig. 607.

The attribution to Antigonus disposes of the suggestion of Babelor (Rois de Syrie, p. XCV) that it was Seleucus I who set up, at Daphne by Antioch, a copy of the Pheidian Zeus of Olympia, against the testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus (XXII, 13, 1) that it was Antiochus IV. Babelon's case rests entirely on the assumption that the type with Nike was first struck by Seleucus.

⁴⁹ *ESM*, p. 12, no. 1.

vented and abandoned.⁵⁰ Newell suggests that, taken in conjunction with new types of bronze appearing at the same time, the innovation may be considered as referring to successes of Seleucus in the East.⁵¹ Like the coin of Antigonus, therefore, and like the electrum of Lampsacus and Cyzicus (Plates V, 12; VI, 3) Nike is here used to signify not military victory in the abstract but some specific military victory.

Our second Hellenistic date of capital importance is 301 B.C. when at the battle of Ipsus, Antigonus and Demetrius were beaten by a great coalition of their rivals and Antigonus was killed. Lysimachus used this occasion to copy the practice of Seleucus and put his own name on the gold with Alexander's Nike. Seleucus may have been influenced by the outcome to replace Nike on the hand of Zeus at Seleucia, and to show her in that position on his first tetradrachms from Seleucia Pieria and Antioch. But he celebrated Ipsus in a more striking fashion. From the mints of Persepolis and, to a less extent Susa, he issued new types with an idealized portrait of himself on the obverse and, on the reverse, Nike placing a wreath on a trophy (Plate VII, 1). The likeness to Agathocles' coin (Plate VI, 6) is too close to be accidental. If we had to suppose that Seleucus'

- 50 ESM, p. 15, nos. 13f.
- ⁵¹ ESM, pp. 20f.
- 52 E. T. Newell, Royal Greek Portrait Coins, New York, 1937, p. 21.
- 53 ESM, p. 22; WSM, pp. 89, 93.
- ⁵⁴ ESM, p. 113, nos. 300-302, pp. 154-159. Why should the type be confined to two mints so remote from the victory? Is it not because he was reluctant to show a trophy of Greek arms too near home? In Syria his foundation of cities was a perfectly clear proof of his power and what had he to gain by reminding his neighbors that the power had been bought at the cost of Greek and Macedonian lives? The East had no such susceptibilities to be considered. There the celebration of Ipsus was paired with his other new reverse of Athena driving an elephant chariot, referring to real or supposed Indian victories, and Seleucus is thereby displayed as conqueror in both the parts of his empire.



die-sinkers were their own masters the remoteness of Syracuse would create a difficulty. But it is clear now that types are not the creation of artists but the selection of officials whose chief concern was with meaning rather than with form. We know of no specific connection between the courts of Agathocles and Seleucus, but the Syracusan was certainly in sufficiently close relation with the Hellenistic kings in the East for them to have been acquainted with his coins. It was the government which decided that his type should be imitated and the government which decreed that the imitations should be struck only at Susa and Persepolis. We cannot say how much the government was responsible for the modifications which are interesting though not, it would seem, of much symbolic importance. For one thing, the goddess is now clothed instead of being nude to the waist, for another she now holds a wreath instead of hammer and nail. Both these changes bring her into direct relation with the Nike of Alexander. For a third thing, instead of greaves attached at the bottom of a bare trunk there is now a shoot with leaves at the side. If this change has a meaning it escapes us now. But quite evidently the difference in execution was beyond the government's control. The stiff folds of the drapery show an awkward hand and, more important still, the revised pose brings the figure into profile instead of the almost frontal body of Agathocles' Nike produced by the right arm hanging down with the hammer. Yet the display of wings to right and left is retained though now it produces an anatomical impossibility. Perhaps Seleucus did as well to keep his type from too close inspection by the more accomplished artists of the West.

It was not the victors alone who made use of the battle of Ipsus. It would not seem that Demetrius had much to celebrate, beside escaping with his life. But there was one circumstance which it was very important for him to keep prominent in the minds of his antagonists. His father's bid



for supremacy on land might have failed disastrously, but Demetrius still controlled the sea. Though the victory of Salamis was some years past its effects were not diminished. He therefore abandoned the conservatism of Antigonus and struck one of the most notable types of antiquity (PLATE VII, 2). Its first appearance is likely to have been at the appropriate mint of Salamis in Cyprus, but Tarsus, Miletus and Ephesus also supplied these tetradrachms until 204 B.C. when he lost control of those cities, and between 294 and 292 B.C. Pella and Amphipolis continued to strike them.⁵⁵ To make more emphatic his defiance of those who considered him beaten, Demetrius transferred Nike to the obverse of his new coins. The fashion of her wings, her clothing, the mast she carries are all like the Nike of Alexander. But now she is seen just on the point of alighting on one of the captured ships, ⁵⁶ in her right hand a long straight trumpet on which she blows a blast to announce the victory won. The striding Poseidon on the reverse of the tetradrachm forms an excellent complement. Against the victor of Salamis and a hostile god of the sea who would dare to contend?⁵⁷ The

⁵⁵ Demetrius. Especially the discussion of this type, pp. 32-38.

is one of the defeated vessels, the acrostolium torn away. If it were not for this interpretation of the curious notched appearance of the stolos one might more readily assume that the ship was Demetrius' own and that the trumpet blast was sounding the attack, since we know that trumpets were used for just that purpose at Salamis (Diodorus XX, 51, 2). But we know also that the trumpet was used to announce a victory—though I know of no case referring to a naval victory. Cf. the article "Tuba" by A. Reinach, Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines V, pp. 522-528 especially figs. 7145, 7146. The relation of this type with the Nike of Samothrace in the Louvre, often discussed, does not concern us here. It is now apparently unanimously agreed that the statue is too late to have been a monument of Demetrius.

op. cit., Pl. II, 12) issued simultaneously with the first Salamis tetradrachms has Athena Promachos to the left, exactly reversing the figure



fact that these types were issued at almost all Demetrius' mints and were issued for many years makes this a more vigorous statement of peculiar right to Nike than that of Seleucus, but both are symbols of particular victories rather than claims to Victory herself as a special and perpetual possession after the fashion of Alexander. Demetrius did, it is true, like Seleucus use his own name on gold with the Nike of Alexander, but this was not an enduring profession of equality, for he presently gave it up for new types with only human figures. As for his successors the Antigonid kings of Macedon, their types followed other conventions and never returned to Nike.

About 297 B.C. Lysimachus produced a new general issue on which the same types were used for both silver and gold simultaneously from all mints (PLATE VII, 3, 4). The new obverse is a head of the deified Alexander with the horns of Zeus Ammon; on the new reverse is the warrior Athena seated to the left with her shield beside her. On her outstretched right hand is a little Nike who is crowning the name of Lysimachus. It was an adroit invention. The choice of Alexander's portrait was at once an act of modesty and an assertion of that close connection with him so important to all his associates. The reverse device suggests a less assured claim on victory than Alexander's Nike, but a superior claim to that of the Zeus Nicephorus of Antigonus and Seleucus. As in the old days at Olympia Nike is not a source but an agent and it is Athena the wise and warlike goddess by whom the victory is given. But by the pretty conceit of allowing the king's name to stand for the king it was made to appear that Lysimachus, while no longer the possessor of victory was the regular recipient, an idea quite as valuable for his purposes. The types became instantly and widely popular and long

used as early as 312 B.C. on the silver of Ptolemy. There could hardly be a more telling type for a coin recording Ptolemy's great defeat (Newell. op. cit., p. 40).



after his death in 281 B.C. the cities continued to strike them as an international coinage. Thus, though Lysimachus had no heirs, his memory persisted in the country he had ruled when that of his rivals had been forgotten.

In 280 B.C. Seleucus, whose final fortune it was to conquer his old ally Lysimachus, died a violent death himself and there were none left of the great group that had been companions of Alexander. If we consider their use of Nike as a type we may fancy that something of the essential quality of the men is illustrated in this minor fashion: Cassander's lack of originality and imagination which led him to attempt to continue what he had received without change or addition; Ptolemy's far-sighted embracing of a separatist policy which brought about an entire break with the tradition; the cautious conservatism of Antigonus intent on using to the full the advantage of appearing Alexander's true successor; the bold innovation of his son Demetrius with confidence enough in himself to replace the victory of Alexander by a victory of his own; finally the calculating statesmanship of Seleucus and Lysimachus looking for a formula that would express the importance of tradition and at the same time recognize the new age which they intended to dominate. None of them was as great in his fortunes as Alexander, as none had been as great in his ambition and his confidence.

Of them all, Seleucus was the only one whose descendants continued to use Nike on their coins but, before dealing with them, it will be well to return to Sicily. The successor of Agathocles, Hicetas, who held the power from 288 to 279 B.C. reintroduced a familiar Syracusan device on his coins when he struck gold on which Nike is driving a galloping biga (Plate VII, 6). Hiero II (274-216 B.C.) used the same type for gold (Giesecke Pl. 24, 3), and Nike with a galloping or a walking quadriga for his silver and that of his wife Philistis (Plate VII, 7). But between these instances of



a well established Syracusan device comes the period from 278 to 276 B.C. when Pyrrhus, the adventurous wanderer through Hellenistic turmoil, finding that his campaign against the Romans in South Italy was progressing less rapidly than he could desire, was diverted by the opportunity of commanding the united Sicilians in a war against Carthage. Like all the other episodes of his career, the conception was larger than the performance, but the spirit in which he undertook what ultimately proved to be too big a task for him is shown by the gold struck for him at Syracuse bearing what might be called a Sicilian translation of the Nike of Alexander (Plates VII, 8, 9; VIII, 1). It was in two denominations and with two varieties of Nike, one with one wing falling behind the body, the other with both wings displayed, both carrying a wreath and trophy. Both have a Sicilian grace quite unlike the sobriety of Alexander's type, but otherwise the announcement of a special title to victory is like that of Alexander, differing only in the fact that its use was much restricted both in time and space. Se To his contemporaries Pyrrhus was a mighty figure and this likening of himself to the conqueror would probably not have seemed extravagant to many who watched his revolutionary progress with astonishment. It is only after the event, when we consider the disproportion between his ambitions and his accomplishments that this late assertion of a claim to victory seems like ill-supported conceit.

The Nikes of the house of Seleucus are numerous but, for the most part, of no great interest. The gold type is found for Antiochus I at Susa (280-261 B.C.),⁵⁹ and for Antiochus II

both with the laureate head of Zeus for obverse, one with a reverse of Victory and trophy (A. Reinach "Pyrrhus et la Niké de Tarente," Neapells I (1913), p. 21, fig. 1), the other with Nike holding a thunderbolt (below, p. 45). The former appears also on contemporary bronzes of the Brutta (ibid., pp. 22f., fig. 3).

⁵⁹ ESM, p. 129, 353.



at Tarsus (261-246 B.c.).60 Zeus Nicephorus proved very popular as a type for silver and continued to the end of the dynasty without significant change, though the Nike sometimes faces to the right, sometimes to the left. A comparable symbol is the Nike held by Athena Parthenos who appears first on the tetradrachms of Alexander Balas from Antioch in 149-8 B.C., 61 and is frequently used by his successors. Under Alexander Balas also was issued from Aradus a tetradrachm on which Tyche sits in much the same attitude as the Athena of Lysimachus and holds a little Nike to the left (PLATE VII, 5). Tyche certainly represents the city itself, but whether there was any special circumstance to make it appropriate that Aradus should be portrayed as the granter of victory we do not know. It is more likely that this is merely a royal complimentary and conventional recognition of the fact that Aradus herself associated victory with her citygoddess, as shown by the series of municipal tetradrachms which began in 138-7 B.C.62 A bronze Tyche Nicephorus had earlier been issued by Antiochus IV from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. 63 In this case the importance of the city, which was the Seleucids' eastern capital, is so clear that the town might well be figured as the bearer of victory since the fortunes of the dynasty depended on its loyalty.

An odd eastern reflection of a Sicilian theme is found on a bronze unit apparently struck at Susa whose obverse has the head of Zeus Ammon, its reverse Nike driving a galloping biga to the right.⁶⁴ Newell's preference for assigning it to Antiochus III rather than Antiochus IV (the identification



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⁶⁰ *WSM*, p. 220, 1305 f., 1308.

⁶¹ E. T. Newell, The Seleucid Mint of Antioch, New York, 1918, p. 48, 150.

⁶² See below, p. 39.

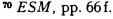
⁶³ Babelon, Les Rois de Syrie, pp. 71 f., 548-555; R. H. McDowell, Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris, Ann Arbor, 1935, pp. 19 f., 44.

⁶⁴ ESM, p. 150, 412, Pl. XXXI, 18.

of its first publisher Allotte de la Fuÿe) may have been partly based on a silver piece of Carystus in Euboea with Nike left in a biga, the obverse being apparently a portrait of Antiochus III.⁶⁵ The uncertainties involved make it useless to argue the matter closely; de la Fuÿe's view is supported by bronzes with a radiate head of Antiochus IV as obverse, Nike left in a biga as reverse.⁶⁶ Whatever the proper dating the most conspicuous thing about these coins is their clumsiness compared with the Syracusan chariots of the third century. The type transplanted is no more than a numismatic curiosity.

Seleucus Nicator's interesting type of Nike and a trophy (PLATE VII, 1) was never reproduced in its original form. but it gave rise to two variations. The first appears on three denominations of bronze struck by Antiochus I at Seleucia (PLATE VIII, 2). Though they are from different mints, the later bronze must surely have been influenced by the earlier silver, but how very different it is! Not only has the sober portrait of Seleucus been replaced by a sentimental facing head of Apollo, but the goddess of the reverse, so quiet and seemly on the tetradrachm, has been transformed to a violently active figure. Babelon⁶⁷ remarked that she bears a strong resemblance to Pan who is erecting a trophy on bronzes of Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon (Plate VIII. 3) and concludes that they both refer to the defeats of the Gauls in Asia and Europe which were important triumphs for both rulers. The victory of Antigonus came in 277 B.C. that of Antiochus probably in 275 B.C.69 Newell⁷⁰ objects to dating the type of Antiochus so early, and puts it about 267-265 B.C. which would be a tardy reminiscence of a great

⁶⁹ David Magie, Roman Rule in Asia Minor, Princeton, 1950, p. 731.



⁶⁵ BMC, Central Greece, p. 103, 18, Pl. XIX, 2.

⁶⁶ Babelon, Rois de Syrie, p. 72, 556-558.

⁶⁷ Rois de Syrie, p. LIII. 68 CAH VII, p. 106.

battle. Perhaps, as he says, "the new types may have borne a general, rather than a specific, implication." It would be unsafe to count this as a sure instance of a particular victory celebrated by a coin type, but at least there is general agreement that it is later than the design of Antigonus, which may therefore be taken to account for its striking and unusual appearance.

The second variation recurs on three denominations of bronze struck by Seleucus II at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris ca. 240-230 B.C. (PLATE VIII, 4). Although the profile of Seleucus I on the obverse has been replaced by heads of the Dioscuri and the group on the reverse is in the opposite direction, there can be no doubt that this is an intentional reflection of the earlier eastern tetradrachms, for the object of uncertain shape between Nike and the trophy turns out, on close inspection of some specimens, to be a bull's head, the well-known symbol of the first Seleucus. Newell⁷¹ suggests that the occasion may have been the assembling of the expedition which was to win back the eastern lands originally held by Seleucus Nicator and that his namesake recalled his victorious type as an omen and an encouragement to the people of Seleucia. Nike here, then, has a double excuse for being: pious tradition and pious hope. Very often among the later Seleucids the hope of victory outruns its achievement and Nike appears optimistically on the coins of monarchs whose fortunes were anything but triumphant. Except for the bull's head and the palm which Nike bears, the new group adds nothing to the old. The goddess has recovered from the excitement she displayed under Antiochus I and is now a fair replica of the original type, with such inferiority as might be expected from the difference in time and resources of the two kings and from the fact that i bronze type seldom displays the care that is spent on a najor silver issue.

⁷¹ WSM, p. 19.



The only important innovation for our purpose is a type which appears on two denominations of bronze (PLATE VIII, 5) attributed by Newell to Seleucus II at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, ca. 240-230 B.C., without perfect assurance, since their monograms are not identical with those of Seleucia and the coins themselves have not been recorded from the excavations of that city.⁷² But the question of the mint is of minor importance for us, and the identity of the king may be taken as sure. In a sense the symbolism is only that of Lysimachus made more explicit. Instead of the king's name crowned by victory, it is now the king himself who is crowned. But though the symbolism is the same, the unprecedented use of the figure of the monach in military garb seems to suggest a special occasion and perhaps the fact that the type is not repeated either by Seleucus II or by his successors may be taken as evidence that there is a single occasion for this issue. In this case, however, as Newell points out, there are two such occasions available: one when Seleucus drove back the Parthian king Tiridates who had previously defeated his lieutenants, the other when he drove back his rebel brother Antiochus Hierax who had taken advantage of his absence in the east to invade Mesopotamia. The second case is perhaps not quite so clear as the first, but both give occasion for the greater precision of this new type: though subordinates may be beaten, when the king himself takes the field Nike is with him. This type, then, we may class with some probability as celebrating a particular victory.

The use of Nike alone was common but uninspired. Seleucus I had transferred Alexander's gold type to bronze still bearing Alexander's name at Susa (Plate VIII, 6) and Ecbatana. He also struck at Nisibis large bronzes in his own name with the heads of the Dioscuri as obverse, while the reverse bears a somewhat different figure of Nike walking to the left carrying a wreath in her right hand, a palm in her

⁷² ESM, p. 80.



left.73 One or other of these varieties was used by a great many succeeding monarchs. In some cases Nike crowns the king's name, in some she holds her wreath over the Seleucid dynastic anchor but the only important variation in her attitude is that on rare occasions she is drawn to the right rather than to the left.⁷⁴ By the later kings the type is used for small silver as well as for bronze (Plate VIII, 8). In both cases it is only one of several types available,75 and never therefore has the symbolic importance of Nikeon Alexander's gold. The question naturally arises whether these Nikes had specific historical occasions or whether they had become a mere stereotype. To this we cannot give any clear answer. The lives of the later Seleucids were so full of fighting that any of them might have achieved a passable imitation of a victory, and the record of the times is so very fragmentary that nothing at all can be deduced from the silence of the authors. But if one cannot deny that a particular Nike may celebrate a particular forgotten battle, one must admit that other factors play a part in the convention. For example, Timarchus struck bronze at Ecbatana showing a Nike to the left; it is true that his brief career from 162-160 B.C. saw him take possession of Media, which might account for the type; it is also true that the predecessor of his issue is that of Antiochus III from Ecbatana bearing the same Nike, and

⁷³ WSM, Pl. VII, 1-2. The available specimens are too much worn to illustrate.

Babelon, Rois de Syrie, p. 206, 1563-1566, Demetrius III, Damascus; p. 210, 1588, Antiochus XII, Damascus. The reversal of position may have been intended to be significant; cf. the countermark of Demetrius I with Nike r. on coins of Timarchus with Nike l. (ANSMN I, 1945, pp. 37-44). It is perhaps worth noting that among the early Seleucids only Seleucus II and Antiochus III use this reverse with a royal portrait as obverse. The thers use divine or heroic heads.

⁷⁵ The case of the usurper Timarchus is hardly an exception. Nike is is only bronze type, but his reign from 162–160 B.C. produced a single sue alone.



the borrowing of the legitimate ruler's type has its political uses irrespective of its symbolism. Again, Demetrius III struck a Nike on his bronze from Damascus for four years between 96 and 87 B.C. His winning of the town in 96-5 B.C. may explain the first of these, but the year 88-87 B.C. was so inglorious for him that the last of them is to be explained only as a vain repetition of a device once adopted. Finally it may be remarked that no victory of a king later than Seleucus I was of sufficient importance to be recorded on an issue of big silver.

As one gets farther from Alexander there is a sense of the fading out of royal personality. This is certainly largely the result of the deterioration of our sources. Nobody in his time thought of Antiochus III or Antiochus IV as a feeble personality. Yet the general decline is a reality. The monarchs set their ambitions on lower goals, they governed with lessening resources, their gains were slighter and more ephemeral, their losses more frequent and more vital. Nike might still appear on their coins but she was hardly a goddess any more. She was a memorial without honesty, a hope without conviction, a numismatic cliché from which the life had departed.

Like other types that had become conventional, Nike was borrowed by the kings of the partly Hellenized lands. There may well have been times when her appearance on the coins of some dynast signified a greater or lesser triumph, but interesting as the hunt for such occasions might be for political history, it adds nothing to the history of the type. The semi-barbarous royal Nikes are figures of little beauty and no individuality, and the same is true for the great majority of Nikes which appear, either as type or symbol, on the coinages of Hellenistic cities. They are numerous, and for the most part, uninteresting. There are cases, however, where a civic issue is noteworthy.

⁷⁶ E. T. Newell, Late Seleucid Mints in Ake-Ptolemais and Damascus New York, 1939, pp. 78–82, 117, 120, 124, 131.



A conspicuous example is on the series of tetradrachms struck by Aradus from 138-7 B.C. (PLATE VIII, 7) to 46-5 B.C.⁷⁷ It is suggested that this appearance of larger silver from a mint which had never struck such ambitious pieces before may have been occasioned by the destruction of her rival Marathus. It would be tempting to suppose that the Nike now selected as a reverse type commemorated that event, but it must be remembered that her association with the Tyche of Aradus, whose head adorns this obverse, had already been expressed by the coin of Alexander Balas already referred to,78 though the attempt of that king as ally of the city to destroy Marathus was a failure. On whatever occasion the selection was made, Nike now becomes the official sign of the city for nearly a century. The aphlaston which she carries in her right hand certainly testifies to the naval might of Aradus whether or not it celebrates a particular naval victory. The figure is carefully drawn and attractive at the beginning, with the seemliness and dignity of Alexander's Nike and with somewhat more grace. But succeeding die-sinkers were not now independent artists nor were they treated as such. Their duty was unvarying reproduction of the figure officially prescribed, and if the start of the series is a pleasure to the eye, before it reaches its end it has become a lamentable example of what officialdom can do to art (Plate VIII, 9). One has only to remember the charm and variety of the Nikes of Olympia and Terina to see one of the gulfs between the pre-Alexandrine and post-Alexandrine worlds. The symbolism was reasonably justified, however; though the career of Aradus may not have been invariably victorious, her importance and general success were great enough to give her a respectable title to her Nike.

⁷⁷ E. T. Newell, Miscellanea Numismatica: Cyrene to India, New York, 1938, pp. 35f., Pl. II, 15, BMC Phoenicia, pp. XV f., 23-35.
⁷⁸ Above, p. 33.



A case of quite a different sort is that of the issue of identical types in the time of Mithradates Eupator (120-63 B.C.) by a group of cities of Pontus and Paphlagonia: Amisus (PLATE VIII, 10), Comana, Chabacta, Laodicea, Cabeira, Amastris, Sinope.⁷⁹ The obverse has an aegis with Medusa's head in the center, referring to the supposed descent of Mithradates from Perseus, the reverse, Nike to the right with the name of the city. The goddess is ugly and there is nothing remarkable in her position except the odd way in which she holds the wreath behind her as though she were about to throw it. The only notable point about her is that she is to be associated not with the issuing authorities —for the cities had neither independent victories nor defeats but with their lord the King of Pontus who took this means of identifying their fortunes with his own. In the same way we later find in the Roman empire cases of ostensible civic types that are in fact a part of the imperial propaganda.

Issues of the Boeotian League show how entirely devoid of meaning a type can become. In the period between the granting of freedom to the League by Demetrius Poliorcetes and its defeat by the Aetolians (288-245 B.C.), and probably connected with the Boeotian resistance to the invading Gauls in 278 B.C., bronze coins were struck with a head of young Heracles and a fighting Nike to the right (SNG Copenhagen Aetolia-Euboea, 377f.). The obverse is usual enough, Heracles being a Theban hero who had often appeared on types. The reverse is interesting, for the figure is an Athena Nike of a different kind from that of Agathocles in the fourth century: the thunderbolt and aegis which she bears proclaim her the warrior daughter of Zeus, but the wings and unhelmeted



⁷⁹ W. H. Waddington, Recueil général des Monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure, 2nd ed., Paris, 1925, I, Chabacta: Pl. XI, 23, Comana: Pl. XI. 25, Laodicea: Pl. XII, 17, Cabeira: Pl. XII, 21, Amastris: Pl. XVIII 17, 18, Sinope: Pl. XXVI, 12.

⁸⁰ Above, p. 24.

head are those of Nike and remind us of the strange fact that, closely as she had come to be associated with war as distinguished from all other types of victory, she is very rarely shown in combat. This is an interesting combination of divinities and prepares us for unusual features in other Boeotian types. And such we presently find.

Silver drachms have a head of Poseidon on the obverse. Nike holding a trident on the reverse (Plate VIII, 11).81 Small bronzes, obviously of the same series, have a shield as obverse while Nike is represented as walking rather than standing (PLATE VIII, 12). The trident in her hand might be supposed to refer to a naval victory, but since no such event is known to which the type could possibly apply, we must conclude that the trident is no more than the usual symbol of the Boeotian god Poseidon, whose figure appears on other Hellenistic coins of the League.82 This, then, is the second Boeotian instance of Nike endowed with the attributes of another deity. But Nike herself creates a difficulty. Head's date for the beginning of the issue, which has been generally accepted, is 197 B.C., the year of Flamininus' victory over Philip V at Cynoscephalae. This would certainly give an occasion for the type, since the Boeotians were the allies of Flamininus. But they were far from enthusiastic allies, having merely yielded to Roman pressure, and indeed a Boeotian contingent fought at Cynoscephalae in Philip's army. Even at the beginning, therefore, the appearance of the new type would have given a dubious satisfaction to the Boeotians, and as time went on its propriety would have grown more and more doubtful since relations with Flamininus became much worse in the next year, and in 192 B.C. when Antiochus III crossed the Aegean to Greece the Boeo-



⁸¹ B. V. Head, On the Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Boeotia, London, 1881, pp. 88–92. Head calls the obverse Zeus, but Poseidon seems a better identification.

⁸² Head, op. cit., Pl. VI, 3.

tians at once joined him against Rome. His defeat and their second surrender did not keep at least a portion of them from joining Perseus in 173 B.C., and when Rome protested the League was broken up. Yet the number of magistrates' monograms known proves that this series was of considerable duration, quite enough, indeed, to account for the whole period from Cynoscephalae to the dissolution of the League. Surely this is only explicable if one assumes that Nike had become a figure entirely devoid of real significance.

An alternative date of 245 B.C. for the series has recently been proposed by Michel Feyel, but this is only an exchange of dilemmas. The year 245 B.C. saw the Boeotians forced into alliance with the Aetolians as the result of a bad defeat by the latter near Chaeroneia. At some date after 239 B.C.—the year is still disputed—they extricated themselves from this humiliating association and joined Demetrius II, King of Macedon. If the first appearance of Nike in 197 B.C. would cause surprise, in 245 B.C. it would be almost incredible. Doubtless in the period after 239 B.C. there were events which might be construed as Boeotian victories but, again, a long series can be given place only on the assumption that the type was continued after it had ceased to be appropriate: that is, it had lost its meaning.

There is one creation of a Hellenistic city, however, which is at once beautiful and an ingenious addition to the symbolism of our goddess. On some of the abundant didrachms of Tarentum the founder Taras rides his inevitable dolphin but holds in his hand a little Nike who crowns him (Plate IX, I): that is the demigod Taras who is, of course, the city itself, has been exalted to the usual position of Zeus or Athena, at once the author and the recipient of victory. This may be doubtful theology, but as a metaphor of the city made glorious by victory of her own creation it is a pretty

88 Polybe et l'Historie de Béotie au III Siècle avant notre Ere, Paris, 1942 pp. 231-234, p. 232, n. 2.



and effective figure. It is a conceit to which we need not attach too much importance. For one thing Nike is only one of a number of things that Taras may hold; for another, its intermittent occurrence from the fourth century⁸⁴ to the alliance with Hannibal 212-209 B.C.,⁸⁵ embraces times when Tarentum certainly had no victories of her own. But it is pleasant to recall that Tarentum could continue to the end of the third century some of that variety and independence of the die-sinkers' art which royal dominance had extinguished in the East.

⁸⁴ Oscar E. Ravel, Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Tarentine Coins formed by M. P. Vlasto, London, 1947, Pl. XVIII, 560.

85 Ibid., Pls. XXXIf., 975–980.

III ROME

Unlike the lesser barbarians who surrounded the Hellenistic world, the Romans had an independent numismatic tradition and a fine one. There is no Greek parallel to the great series of aes signatum of the Republic. Yet contact with the Greek cities of Italy affected the Romans too, and shortly after their power had been established in the South the first Roman Victory appears on a silver didrachm struck in that region, perhaps in the city of Tarentum⁸⁶ (Plate IX, 2).

86 Greek influence is detected even on the aes grave; Karl Pink, The Triumviri Monetales and the Structure of the Coinage of the Roman Republic (NS 7), New York, 1952, p. 49.

A large literature has recently accumulated around the question of the dating of early Roman silver. The generally accepted theory that the denarius was first struck in 269 B.C. has been challenged by Harold Mattingly and E. S. G. Robinson with an impressive and still growing body of evidence showing that 269 B.C. is the date of striking of the Romano-Campanian didrachms (The Date of the Roman Denarius and other Landmarks in Early Roman Coinage, Proceedings of the British Academy, 1932; Mattingly, "The 'Diana-Victory' Didrachms and the Decadrachms of Arsinoe," NC 1946, pp. 63-67). The resulting revised dates for quadrigatus. victoriatus and denarius are much more uncertain. Mattingly and Robinson proposed 187 B.C. for the denarius, which Mattingly later brought down to "ca. 170 (or earlier)" (NC 1949, p. 66), but J. G. Milne preferred 205 (JRS 1934, pp. 61-63) and Pink accepts 210 (op. cit., pp. 16, 51). New and apparently conclusive evidence is furnished by the Princeton excavation of Morgantina in Sicily. The controversy does not really concern us, but it may be remarked that the part of Pink's argument which relies on 229 B.C. as the beginning of the New Style tetradrachms of Athens (p. 51) is no longer possible to maintain (Margaret Thompson, "The Beginning of Athenian New Style Coinage," ANSMN V, New York, 1052. pp. 25-33).

The distinction between the mints of Roman silver is discussed by Mattingly, "The First Age of Roman Coinage," JRS 1945, pp. 65-77, and "The Various Styles of the Roman Republican Coinage," NC 1949 Pp. 57-74.



Rome 45

Her relation to the Nike of Agathocles (Plate VI, 6) is sufficiently obvious, though this is not merely a copy but a very competent piece of composition. In place of the trophy there is now a long palm branch to which Victory is attaching a wreath with a fillet. The act extends both arms and brings the body around so that it is viewed more from the side. The wings are properly to the left instead of displayed, but the flexibility of the figure is preserved by the bent right leg. The palm and wreath to the right with serial letter beneath, and the inscription to the left fill the space comfortably. But there is a type closer to the Roman than the Nike of Agathocles both in time and in form. A bronze of Tarentum has a Nike to the right holding a thunderbolt. The combination of type and symbol is convincingly connected with Pyrrhus of Epirus.87 To the Tarentine die-sinkers of his time, therefore, the credit must go for the successful alteration of the figure's pose to eliminate the trophy without leaving space undesirably vacant.88 The designers for the Romans would then have to hand a Nike from Tarentum itself in bronze, to be sure, but suitable as a basis for the first type of the new masters of South Italy. Their elimination of the thunderbolt, the sign of the Epirote King, would be a matter of course, but the substitution of the conventional palm produces an arrangement sufficiently specific without being an affront to the vanquished. Altogether it is an auspicious beginning to Victory's career on the Roman coinage.

From Rome itself was later issued another coin of Syracusan inspiration, the so-called quadrigatus (Plate IX, 3) showing Jupiter with a thunderbolt driving a quadriga to



⁸⁷ A. Reinach, op. cit. (n. 58 above), p. 21, fig. 2.

^{**}Since another nearly contemporary type from Tarentum does have a trophy (Reinach, op. cit., fig. 1), may we assume that this one was struck in anticipation of victory over the Romans, the other after their defeat at Heraclea in 280 B.C.?

the right, with a little Victory behind him. The composition is uninteresting and the execution poor. The theology also is dubious and the whole thing a disappointing contrast to the preceding which had clearly been the work of a good Greek artist. Nor is the decorative standard much raised by the victoriatus (Plate IX, 4) introduced to replace the half-quadrigatus. This also originates at the mint of Rome and is a much simplified version of Agathocles' group. North Italian sobriety has presented the goddess fully clad. She is in profile, though on early specimens her weight is still on the left foot with the right knee bent. The gesture of crowning the trophy is a simpler attitude than that of the didrachm, but the meaning of the type was clear and apparently satisfying to the Romans, for it persisted for a long time, getting stiffer and increasingly careless.

The original reverse type of the denarius was the Dioscuri on galloping horses. An alternative was Diana driving a biga to the right, and Diana later came to be replaced by Victory (Plate IX, 5). Of course this, like the type of the quadrigatus, is a borrowing from the Greek, without beauty or special significance to make it notable. 90

There are a number of variations of the chariot type: a quadriga or triga instead of biga; Victory crowning the horses or the charioteer. These occur at different times and give no further light on the Roman principles and practice of adaptation. There is, however, one concentration of

⁸⁹ In 292 B.C. according to Leslie H. Neatby, "The Bigatus," A JA 55 (1951), 241-244.

Review 30 [1937], 103-117) Mattingly suggests that the Virtues, among which he classes Victoria, may have had their roots in old Roman religion though they became prominent at the time of increasing Greek influence. If there is an old Roman element it does not appear in the earliest Roman types. There is, however, abundant evidence that a cult of Victory flourished in the Republic (cf. Daremberg et Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités, s.v. Victoria, pp. 836-839).



Rome 47

powers which is worth mentioning as showing the Roman instinct for impressiveness at the expense of finesse. A denarius of C. Metellus of the late second or early first century B.C. shows Jupiter driving a biga of elephants over which Victory flies to crown him! (Plate IX, 6). The elephants are a reminiscence of those captured in the battle of Panormus in 251 B.C. by the moneyer's ancestor L. Caecilius Metellus, but how they came to be harnessed to the chariot of Jupiter only the moneyer or his die-sinker could say.

Victories appear frequently throughout the Republic, but most of them are such bare conventions as to call for no comment. There are two exceptions, however, in the time of the Social Wars, for in both cases the Roman reverse is borrowed by the Italian insurgents. The first is a denarius of M. Cato showing Victory seated with the inscription VICTRIX (PLATE IX, 7). Mommsen identified the reverse type as the cult statue in the aedicula of Victoria Virgo dedicated by Cato the Elder in 194 B.C. to celebrate his Spanish campaign. The figure does indeed have the appearance of a particular statue⁹¹ but it must have been understood in a general sense as well, for there are rare denarii copying both obverse and reverse, but with the inscription changed to ITALIA.92 A clearer case still is that of the denarius on which Rome is depicted seated on a pile of arms, crowned by Victory standing behind (PLATE IX, 8). This is an evident picture of Rome victorious in the war, again parodied by a denarius of the insurgents on which the legend ROMA is replaced by ITALIA.93 This type is apparently adapted from a Greek symbol for there are Athenian New



Victory seated is a rarity. This one is no close relative of the seated Nikai of Olympia and Terina, yet it is plausibly suggested that the cult he represents may be derived from that of the Nymphs of South Italy Daremberg et Saglio, op. cit., p. 837, fig. 7453).

⁹² BMC Republic II, p. 325, Type IV.

⁹³ BMC Republic III, Pl. XCVIII 8.

Style tetradrachms where a seated figure with sword and spear is crowned by Nike (PLATE IX, 10). The coin was struck 122/I B.C.; 94 the figure is usually taken to be a Roman general because one of the moneyers is named KOINTOΣ. Aside from the difficulty produced by the hypothesis that one of the moneyers would be allowed to use a picture of himself being crowned as a symbol, and the lack of a Quintus of the proper eminence at the proper time, there is positive evidence that the figure is not a human. Miss Thompson's work with the New Style tetradrachms has made it clear that this series is immediately preceded by one struck by Xenokles and Harmoxenos on which also the seated figure appears though not crowned by Nike.95 Comparison with the seated figure of Aetolia on coins of the Aetolian League, 270-168 B.C., 96 in spite of the difference in scale and in date will strongly suggest that the Athenian coin also shows a national divinity. Whether that divinity be Rome or not is doubtful since she appears before the year of Quintus, whose inclusion among the Attic mint magistrates is the chief reason for assuming Roman influence. In any case the author of the denarius had the precedent of a similar group with a seated goddess crowned by Victory.

In general it may be said that the importance of the Roman types is in their association or the ideas behind them, and seldom in their art. Republican coins have their own attractiveness and their own value, but no one can feel that the Republican die-sinkers are as skilful as their Greek predecessors. They illustrate interesting events, and they more rarely give form to interesting conceptions, but it is the event or the conception which is of importance, not the form. To list all the modifications of a well-known figure, therefore.



⁹⁴ Margaret Thompson, The New Style Coinage of Athens, New York. 1961. pp. 362 f.

⁹⁵ Thompson, op. cit., pp. 359-61.

⁹⁶ BMC, Thessaly to Aetolia, Pl. XXX, 5.

Rome 49

would advance our subject very little. One innovation, however, is worthy of remark: the substitution of a bust of Victory for the whole figure (Plate IX, 9). This appears late in the Republic⁹⁷ and was used by Augustus. The increase in scale of the portrait gave opportunity to show the features of real persons—though whether this was actually done or not is a matter of dispute—but the loss in dignity is conspicuous and the bust was never a serious competitor of the full figure.

The fashion of moneyers of recording the great deeds of their ancestors makes it certain that Victory would occur prominently on these reminiscent series. As the Republic drew to its close, however, contemporary events began to intrude among the historical ones, and some Victories of the civil wars have especial point as illustrative of the propaganda of rival chiefs. An instance is that of the gold and silver struck by L. Manlius and L. Sulla in 82-81 B.C., possibly in Athens itself, showing Sulla in a triumphal quadriga crowned by Victory (Plate IX, 11). Although the group is a direct descendant of the Sicilian quadrigas, the significance is entirely different. The chariot is no longer the vehicle of a competitor in the games bearing him to triumph by its swiftness. It is the car of a Roman who has already triumphed, moving in solemn procession to celebrate that triumph. The earlier Greek meaning has therefore been entirely replaced.98

The type of Sulla, it must be emphasized, was evidence of a fact of great religious importance. He claimed Victory as his own in a fashion less bold and simple than Alexander's but more explicit. After his defeat of the Samnites Sulla instituted games to which he gave the name Ludi Sullanae



⁹⁷ Harold Mattingly, Roman Coins (Chicago, 1960), p. 67, Pl. XV, 15-17.

Mommsen did not believe that the figure was Sulla on the grounds that it was too early for the appearance of a contemporary scene on a coin. But surely that is perfectly characteristic of Sulla. See the remarks of Grueber, BMC Republic II, pp. 461f., n. 1.

Victoriae. This was much more than commemorating "a victory won by Sulla." It was a statement that his victory was a characteristic like his fortune or his valor. In this, as in other matters, Pompey aped his chief and a rare aureus shows him in a similar triumphal quadriga, though here Victory crowns the horses, and an added feature is his young son Gnaeus riding one of them. 100

It was natural that Victory should have a prominent place among the types of Julius Caesar. The transition between Republican and Imperial coinage is manifest in the use of his portrait as an obverse type where no living Roman had ever appeared before. The supposed descent of the Julian gens from Iulus the son of Aeneas is the reason for the use of Venus, the mother of Aeneas, as a reverse type (PLATE X, I). Here she has the special form of Venus Victrix, not only equipped with spear and shield, but also holding a Victory with outstretched wreath. The obvious analogy with the Athena Nicephorus of the Seleucids is no accident. Like the Hellenistic Kings, Caesar is asserting for his family a special connection with a goddess who brings victory. L. Aemilius Buca, one of the moneyers who struck this common type used also another Hellenistic reminiscence: Venus seated holding Victory (Plate X, 2). But a more remarkable type of his shows a group much more complicated (PLATE X. 3). Sabatier and Babelon supposed this to refer to the myth of Endymion, but that would be an unparalleled representation for this time and, one would suppose, very obscure to the users of the coin. A better explanation is that of Eckhel who sees here a reference to the dream of Sulla, reported by Plutarch (Sulla, ix). On his way to his contest with Marius at Rome he had a vision of the moon putting a thunderbolt



Welleius Paterculus II, 27 felicitatem diei quo Samnitium Telesinique pulsus est exercitus, Sulla perpetua ludorum circensium honoravit memoria, qui sub eius nomine Sullanae Victoriae celebrantur.

¹⁰⁰ BMC Republic II, pp. 464-466; III, Pl. CX, 13.

in his hands and urging him to strike his enemies, who were thereupon vanquished. The winged figure in the middle is then Victory, symbolizing that of which the dream was itself a prophecy. The remarkable thing about this is the time of its appearance, for Caesar was well known for the honor he rendered to the memory of Marius and one would little expect to find Sulla so prominent on a type of one of his moneyers. But the fact seems to be that Buca struck coins both before and after Caesar's death in 43 B.C. If Babelon be correct in his conjecture that Buca was the son of M. Scaurus the step-son of Sulla, it is easy to see why he should take advantage of the dictator's assassination to proclaim the distinction of his own house.¹⁰¹

In currency, as in other matters, the brief regime of Caesar was a prelude to the empire. His arrangements were revised, enlarged and confirmed by his heir in many ways that do not now concern us. 102 What is of importance for our discussion is that the choice of types is no longer the result of a casual preference, but is part of a concerted plan for the influencing of public opinion. As Sutherland puts it, "It is a truth to be realized at the very outset that (Augustus), with the majority of his successors for at any rate two centuries or more, considered the choice of appropriate types as a matter of genuine importance in the conduct of empire."103 It is therefore to be expected that after the years of the second triumvirate, with their gathering of rival forces and mutual recrimination, when the battle of Actium and the conquest of Egypt had concentrated power in a single hand, Victory should appear on the coins to celebrate what was

¹⁰¹ BMC Republic I, p. 545, notes 1 and 2. N. Breitenstein, "Sulla's Dream" Acta Archaeologica 1937, pp. 181–186.

Two recent books of great importance have studied the Augustan coinage: Michael Grant, From Imperium to Auctoritas, Cambridge, 1946, chiefly concerned with constitutional questions; and C. H. V. Sutherland, Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy, 31 B.C.-A.D. 68, London, 1951, dealing with the types as part of the imperial propaganda.

108 Op. cit., p. 28.



recognized as a turning point of history. As a matter of fact, on August 13, 14 and 15 of 29 B.C. three victories were celebrated, the Dalmatian, the Actian and the Alexandrine; and policy dictated that it should be the third of these, which had added immense resources to the Roman power, that should be emphasized, rather than the second, whose memory was always involved with that of Antony and the horrors of civil war. 104 There were many, however—Vergil, Horace and Propertius among them—who recognized Actium as the critical point, and the tradition has left us with the instinctive conviction that Actium was Octavian's victory par excellence. Even before the celebration of the triumph, coins struck in the East had begun to show appropriate types. 105 Two of these are traditional: a bust of Victory (Sutherland, op. cit., Pl. I, I) and Victory in a biga (BMCEmpire I, Pl. XIV, 11, 12); but the other three are of more interest. The first is Victory with wreath and palm alighting on a prow (Plate X, 4), a fine group to commemorate a naval battle;106 the second shows the goddess with wreath



¹⁰⁴ Sutherland, op. cit., p. 18.

¹⁰⁵ Indeed it has been argued that they, or some of them, belong to the years before Actium, and to Italy, celebrating the victories over Sextus Pompey. Grant, op. cit., pp. 49f., n. 4. Sutherland, op. cit., p. 186, conceded the possibility that this may be true of the CAESAR DIVI F coins but believes that those with IMP CAESAR "should probably be given to post-Actian Eastern mints."

¹⁰⁶ Interesting speculation is aroused by the wording of Sutherland's description, "a representation of the Victory of Samothrace, made famous as a coin type long years before by Demetrius Poliorcetes" (op. cit., pp. 29f.). It is inevitable that Augustus' types should recall to us the earlier type as well as the statue. Specimens and reproductions are available to any numismatist. Were they so readily available in antiquity that a more recent type may be assumed to be a copy or an adaptation of an earlier one? Professor Raubitschek asks aptly, "did the emperors have a Cabinet de Médailles?" If not, may the repetition of types, the importance of which Grant has emphasized, be taken as proof that the earlier instance was still in circulation at the time the later was issued?

and palm alighting on a globe (Plate X, 5), and this has been taken to be a copy of the golden Victory of Tarentum which he had installed in the Curia Julia, 107 before which the Senators took oath. 108 The only real basis for the identification is the Hellenistic appearance of the attitude, but it is an attractive fancy that the original might have been a statue set up at Tarentum by Pyrrhus in celebration of his victory at Heraclea in 280 B.C., to become, by the irony of fate, the very embodiment of empire for the Romans whose defeat brought it into being. 109 The popularity which the type later achieved gives some, though doubtful, support to the possibility of its displaying a famous monument.

The third pertinent early type of Augustus is a silver quinarius bearing the cista mystica and serpents, long a standard type for Asiatic silver (PLATE X, 6). The addition of a Victory standing on the cista and the inscription ASIA RECEPTA was a reminder that though Asia had not been conquered, like Egypt, her restoration to the empire was an achievement of the conqueror whose portrait appeared on the obverse. If these cannot be considered great art, they are competent designs and pleasant to the eye.

¹⁰⁷ Cassius Dio LI, 22. 1. ¹⁰⁸ Herodian V, 5, 7; VII, 11, 3.

109 The theory is presented by Adolphe Reinach, "Pyrrhus et la Niké de Tarente," Neapolis I (1913), pp. 19-29. The article is an astonishing piling of one hypothesis upon another. Of its many ingenious suggestions not one will stand scrutiny and we are left with no more evidence than that of Cassius Dio and Herodian in the passages cited. Yet H. Bulle in the article "Nike" (W. H. Roscher, Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie III, Leipzig, 1897-1902, cols. 354-356) can conclude that "there can be no doubt that the coins reproduce the Victoria of the Curia." The coins which he cites exhibit four major variations and one might well ask by what criterion he would accept one as original and reject the others as changes. But he regards the fact that the figure is shown to left, to right and facing as certain proof that it had a statuary model (since statues may be viewed from three sides, anything that is viewed from three sides must be a statue), and, once that position is taken, the details can be resolutely 110 Sutherland, op. cit., p. 31. dealt with.





The position of Victory in the later coinage of Augustus is a minor one. Once he had been granted that honorable name, and the structure of the constitution had been arranged in 27 B.C., it was not foreign conquest but internal organization which engrossed his attention and for the success of which his propaganda was employed. Tension with Parthia, which might well have led to war, was composed by diplomacy, and the fortunes of his lieutenants against the Germans were not such as to call for advertisement. Yet as an adjunct, Victory does appear. Spanish mints, beginning about 19 B.C. portray her with the Clupeus Virtutis (Plate X, 7, 8). This is an interesting combination. For one thing, the Clupeus itself stood beneath the statue of Victory in the Senate House;¹¹¹ for another the ideas are complementary. The shield had been presented to Augustus "virtutis, clementiae, iustitiae et pietatis causa" and it might be understood that it was the victory of Augustus which had made those qualities effective in the new age; and, conversely, that it was because of those very qualities that he had been victorious. This is an important point in the theology of our subject. Victory as a gift of the gods had been familiar from the beginning and doubtless it was always assumed that victory would be the reward of those with suitable powers. A mortal might be, like Alexander, of such surprising power that he could assume that victory would always be his. But that victory should be deserved by moral qualities as well as by might was a new idea, converting a religious concept into an ethical one, very familiar in the lines of Vergil and Horace.

Though the types are a successful statement of a novel idea, they certainly cannot be classed as artistic successes. The shield is the central element of the design and it must

¹¹¹ J. Gagé, "Un Thème de l'Art impérial romain: la Victoire d'Auguste," Mélanges d'archéologie et d'Historie de l'Ecole française de Rome 1932, pp. 61-92.



be shown frontally so that its inscription shall make it clear what shield it is. To combine with this circle the figure of the goddess was beyond the skill of the die-sinkers. The type on which she is displaying it like a great tea tray is awkward and a bit ridiculous (Plate X, 7), but it is better than the other on which she seems to be diving over it (Plate X, 8). The attitude is practically that of the old Nike flying above the victorious chariot, but the new group is hopelessly unconvincing.

Another case of impossible proportions is more successful. In 13 B.C. Augustus returned from Gaul after reorganizing the province and apparently in the next year¹¹² a portrait of him appeared on dupondii of Rome with a little Victory tying the laurel wreath on his head (Plate X, 10). The disproportion is not greater than on the familiar groups with a seated figure crowned by Nike, but it does not seem to have been well received for it was not repeated and the surviving specimens are few.

One new Victory belongs to the later years of Augustus: one seated on a globe in an attitude that had not been seen since the Nikes of Terina. She occurs on a gold quinarius of II-IO B.C. (PLATE X, 9) and may have reference to the campaign of Tiberius in Pannonia for which official credit went to Augustus under whose auspices he fought. She is, as Sutherland remarks, 113 a "rare intruder in an otherwise stereotyped series." Other kinds of Victory were used on the gold quinarius: Victory with a trophy, 114 three varieties of Victory alighting on a globe, 115 but it was the seated goddess that became the standard type for that denomination.

One more gold piece deserves special mention (PLATE XI, 1). It was struck in the East and borrowed a famous eastern



¹¹² K. Pink, "Die Triumviri monetales unter Augustus," *NZ* 1946, pp. 117 f. ¹¹³ Op. cit., p. 67, n. 2.

¹¹⁴ BMC I, p. 54, nos. 293-297, Pl. 5. 13, 14.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 73, nos. 424–426, Pl. 9. 18–20.

design: Victory kneeling on a bull's back and cutting its throat with a knife (PLATE V, 10, 11). Why this should be appropriate to a coin with the legend ARMENIA CAPTA is not apparent. It seems that for once the die-sinker was without special instructions—or ignored them—and selected a type to suit his own taste.

Bronzes figuring the altar of Rome and Augustus at Lugdunum (Plate XI, 2) show an invention, not originally numismatic, but destined to have an influence on numismatic design: two statues of Victory, each holding a wreath, on columns to right and left of the altar. So far as this design is the expression of a religious conception it probably means that Victory is thought of as having especially close relations with both Rome and Augustus.¹¹⁶ But the simultaneous appearance of one divine person in two forms was certain to lead to a multiplication of Victories which destroyed her personality.

In his chapter "Tiberius and the Continuity of the Principate" Sutherland has used the evidence of the coins to show how the second emperor avoided any appearance of individual display, preferring to present himself as the heir of Augustus' policies as well as of his powers. It was not a reign from which to expect innovations, and the only occurrence of Victory which calls for remark is the adaptation on a bronze of Augustus' Victory with a shield (Plate XI, 3). The shield—which is now inscribed SPQR and may not be intended for the clipeus virtutis— is being held upright by

116 The intimacy of connection between Victory and Augustus is demonstrated by Jean Gagé, "La Victoria Augusti et les Auspices de Tibère. Revue Archéologique 1930, pp. 1-35. The multiplication of Victories had already been an important device in Greek art: the golden Nikai of the Acropolis, the figures of the Nike parapet, the Nikai on the hearse of Alexander, to mention only the most famous examples. Moreover, a pair of Nikai appears on the back of Zeus' throne on certain Alexander tetradrachms, e. g. Noe, Sicyon, p. 17, no. 30. But there was no such development as took place under the Romans.



Victory and the group is altogether a very attractive one. It is a pity it was not more widely used.

Under Caligula our goddess appears only on the gold quinarius¹¹⁷ but in his first year Claudius invented a type which is a remarkable example of syncretism. A figure identified by the legend PACI AVGVSTAE has the wings of Victory, the caduceus of Felicitas, the serpent of Salus, and she veils her face with a gesture like that of Pudor (Plate XI, 4). 118 This combination of attributes, an appropriate creation of the learned emperor, was used on both gold and silver and was minted repeatedly while simple Victory was almost ignored, 119 though there were perfectly suitable occasions for her use, like the invasion of Britain. Nero's types of Victory are not many and are not remarkable except that the artistic level of his coins is high. The period of the Civil Wars, though victory was the price of survival—or perhaps for that very reason—produced few novelties in the idea of victory beyond ephemeral but understandable attempts to attach the goddess to one or another of the contestants, signified by the inscriptions VICTORIA GALBAE AVG, 120 VICTORIA OTHONIS, 121 VICTORIA IMP VESPASIANI. 122 Minor innovations appear on bronze of Galba: Rome holding Victory, ¹²³ Victory holding a Palladium, ¹²⁴ and Vitellius has a sestertius showing Victory inscribing OB CIVES SERV on a shield affixed to a tree (Plate XI, 5). This is a complicated conception, owing something to the Victory with a trophy

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<sup>117</sup> BMC I, pp. 146, no. 6, 148, no. 21, 150, no. 31, Pl. 27. 5, 17, 25.
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¹¹⁸ The complicated symbolism has been analyzed by Grant, "Pax Romana," *University of Edinburgh Journal* 1949, pp. 229ff. See also Sutherland, op. cit., p. 127.

¹¹⁹ One denarius, BMC I, Pl. 32, 10, and the gold quinarii, Pl. 33. 23, 24.

¹²⁰ BMC I, Pl. 55. 10, 11.

¹²¹ Ibid., Pl. 60. 11.

¹²² BMC II, p. 71, nos. 361 f., Pl. 11, 13, 14.

¹²³ BMC I, Pl. 56. 3.

¹²⁴ Ibid., Pl. 56. 6.

which goes back to Agathocles and something to the clupeus virtutis of Augustus. Presumably the designer intended to suggest that Victory would end the war (her foot is on a helmet) and result in saving the citizens. But the symbolism cannot be pressed, nor need it be. Orthodoxy was maintained by the inscription VICTORIA AVGVSTI, but in fact, of course, there was no victory.

One of the most striking aspects of the Roman Imperial Coinage is its memorial and repetitive character. This has its own importance and interest, 125 but it much reduces the proportion of types that have something new to say. In the large repertory of Vespasian most of the Victories are adaptations of earlier types, sometimes quite recent ones. There is an aureus showing Victory 1. crowning the emperor (PLATE XI, 6) which is either a derivative of bronze of Seleucus II (PLATE VIII, 5) or a remarkable coincidence. There is an aureus of Rome bearing the Victory on a cista mystica with two serpents which had been used on a quinarius of Augustus from the East (Plate XI, 7). Victory to the left setting a shield on a trophy (PLATE XI, 8) is an obvious echo of the old Victoriatus type (PLATE IX, 4) made novel by reversing the position of the goddess and altering the details. Not all the origins are remote. Vespasian had no hesitation in borrowing the bronze type of his rival Vitellius (Plate XII. 1). Two rare bronzes do present new groups: on one Victory to the right is presenting a legionary eagle to the emperor; 126 on the other she gives him the Palladium. 127 But, for the most part, there is only more or less literal and uninspired copying of well-known types. As time goes on the minor variations multiply, but it would be useless to review them all. There are little changes of adjuncts or of posture and



¹²⁵ Fully developed by Grant, Roman Anniversary Issues, Cambridge 1950.

¹²⁶ BMC II, Pl. 35. 6.

¹²⁷ Ibid., Pl. 36. 2.

combinations of Victory with other figures, but they have nothing to add to the significance of the goddess and the later one gets the less of artistic merit they have to offer.

There is progressive weakening of the divine person which it is well to note. It is clearly seen in the groups of Victory with a shield. Under Augustus the meaning was plain, and Victory was of the utmost importance to him. Tiberius' shield with SPQR is not so sharply defined and that of Vitellius and Vespasian with OB CIVES SERV still less so. There follow shields more explicit in themselves but more ambiguous as to the goddess. Domitian has a sestertius which shows Victory writing DE GER on a shield. 128 Presumably now the shield is part of the spoils taken from the Germans. But when on a denarius of Trajan Victory writes DA CI CAP, 129 and, on a sestertius, VIC DAC (PLATE XII, 3), one is driven to wonder who the divine scribe is, after all. The conquest of the Dacians is being recorded; is it an immortal and eternal power that is making the record, or is she herself in some sense restricted to this single occasion? The question is still more pointedly put by a sestertius of Commodus where Victory, seated on a pile of arms, holds a stylus with which she is about to inscribe a shield balanced on her left knee. She has as yet written nothing, but below her, where they give every appearance of being her identification, are the words VICT BRIT (Plate XII, 4). It should be remarked in passing that, influenced perhaps by the Republican didrachm, this seated figure is nude to the waist, a convention that was maincained by seated Victories for generations.

That the goddess did come in time to have a merely topical significance is proved by an entry in the Feriale Duranum of the third Christian century "ob victorias arabicam et adiabenicam et parthicam maximam—victoriae parthicae,

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid., Pl. 70. 10; Pl. 72. 7.
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¹²⁹ BMC III, Pl. 14. 16; Pl. 16. 2, 14.

bovem feminam."¹³⁰ Even earlier than the Feriale there is numismatic proof in the aurei struck by Septimius Severus and Caracalla with the conventional figure with wreath and palm entitled VICTORIA PARTHICA MAXIMA (PLATE XI, 9). The adjective can only refer to the actual physical event and it can hardly be denied that the figure must be a symbol of the same event. Possibly intended as a corrective is the occasional use of the words VICTORIA AETERNA, occurring as late as Diocletian¹³¹—a phrase of very dubious metaphysical soundness and hardly improved by Constantine's VICTORIAE PERPETVAE.¹³² But the development was the other way, and as early as Commodus we find a serious divorce between Victory and her proper function on a sestertius on which the shield is inscribed VO DE, that is VOTIS DECENNALIBVS SVSCEPTIS.¹³³

Another fashion of deterioration is that foreshadowed by the Altar of Lugdunum, the types with two Victories. The commonest kind is that where they are simply heraldic supporters of the shield. Valerian shows the simplest form, where the shield is marked S C and the main legend is VOTA ORBIS (PLATE XII, 2). But the normal purpose of the shield comes to be to proclaim the decennial or quinquennial vows offered by the emperor and on his behalf. So Antoniniani of Diocletian are entirely preoccupied with the imperial date, the shield reading VOT X, while the encircling inscription is PRIMIS X MVLTIS XX.¹³⁴ One might urge that as victory was essential to the ten years achieved and the ten to come, the two figures stood for the past and the future, but it seems unlikely that either the die-sinker or the user bothered much



¹⁸⁰ R. O. Fink, "Victoria Parthica and kindred Victoriae," Yale Classical Studies VIII, 1942, pp. 81–101.

¹⁸¹ RIC V. 2, p. 235, nos. 149f.

¹³² Cohen VII, p. 305, nos. 647 f.

¹³³ BMC IV, Pl. 106. 12.

¹⁸⁴ *RIC* V. 2, p. 238, no. 178.

with subtle explanations. The two Victories were simply available to create a symmetrical pattern, the easiest design to produce and to understand. Sometimes the shield is omitted and the two figures are opposed, either clasping hands¹³⁵ or holding wreaths (Plate XII, 5).¹³⁶ The disappearance of personality is complete and can hardly be made more so even by the occasions when the number is raised to three.¹³⁷

But these late types do have a new element to contribute which the earlier ones lacked: the presence of the defeated. A denarius of Septimius Severus is typical (Plate XII, 6): VICT PARTHICAE shows which contest is intended and at the feet of Victory is a little captive. Sometimes there are two captives, sometimes the victim is being trampled by Victory, as on an aureus of Constantius II,¹³⁸ sometimes dragged away, as on the very common bronzes of Theodosius I and Arcadius (Plate XII, 7) where the inscription SALVS REI-PVBLICAE seeks to give the sanction of the general welfare to a scene that looks like mere brutality. The emperor frequently takes the place of Victory in these scenes and shows what is intended by Constantius II when he calls himself DEBELLATOR HOSTIVM or DEBELLATOR GENTIVM BARBARORVM. ¹³⁹

A more pleasing concept is that of Victory guiding the ship of state, either alone, as on the Constantinian bronzes inscribed CONSTANTINOPOLIS (PLATE XII, 8) or with the emperor standing before her, on the bronzes of Constans and Constantius II (PLATE XIII, I) of the series inscribed FEL TEMP REPARATIO. This last example shows a com-



¹³⁵ E. g., Probus, RIC V. 1, p. 103, nos. 799 f.

¹³⁶ The larger field of medallions allows them sometimes to present much more complicated duplication. Numerian is shown on horseback attacking six enemies, the inequality being compensated by two Victories crowning him! RIC V. 2, p. 194, no. 401, Gnecchi no. 1, Plate 4, 7.

¹³⁷ Gallienus, *RIC* V. 1, p. 156, nos. 294 f.; p. 158, no. 311. Carausius, *RIC* V. 2, p. 508, no. 530.

¹³⁸ Cohen VII, pp. 476 f., no. 237.

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 443, nos. 23, 24.

promise of Victory's original pagan character which had not been ostensibly affected by the issues of the first Christian emperor. It is not that she herself is different, but here the emperor holds not only a phoenix, whose significance is ambiguous, but sometimes a labarum instead, the standard with the Christian monogram, whose significance is not. The scene at once becomes one in which the former goddess is reduced to an adjunct of a new deity by whom her nature must be fundamentally affected. From now on, with increasing frequency, she is only the lesser companion of the Christian God.

Occasionally the late empire made rash experiments with that most dangerous of numismatic designs, the facing portrait. The emperor is sometimes so portrayed—with unhappy results— and a gold piece of Constantine has the figure of Victory, facing, holding the familiar shield (Plate XIII, 2). Another design of Diocletian shows a Victory flying forward between and above two emperors enthroned to the left (Plate XIII, 3). This is somewhat more attractive. Unfortunately it commended itself to Valentinian I and his family on whose types the little Victory is really absurd (Plate XIII, 4).

The post-Constantinian period is notable for the great reduction of the number of types used and it is rare that a new idea is added. But there are two phenomena that call for remark. One is the use by Theodosius I of a separate type for his wife Flacilla. It was struck in all metals and was borrowed by her daughter-in-law Eudoxia (Plate XIII, 5) the wife of Arcadius, by her daughter Galla Placidia and by Arcadius' daughter Pulcheria. It was the old seated Victory with a shield, but in two respects she is new. In the first place she is now fully clothed, though the similar type on the gold semis of Theodosius preserves the tradition of showing her nude to the waist. The other change is much more important. What she is inscribing on the shield is now no votive date



but the Christian monogram. Victory has, in fact, become an angel.

The other notable incident is quite as explicit. Theodosius II began his reign with the gold types familiar to his house. But at the celebration of his vicennalia he introduced a new design: Victory standing to the left and supporting a long cross (Plate XIII, 6). This pious anomaly quickly became popular and for 60 years, until the reign of Zeno at the end of the century, this was the solidus type par excellence, at first inscribed only with the date VOT XX MVLT XXX, but later bearing the old familiar title VICTORIA AVGG. The types of semis and triens also become fixed. The former has Victory seated writing on her shield a date which is not always legible and not always possible when it can be read (PLATE XIII, 7). So far as the hasty and careless drawing permits us to judge, she continues the thoroughly outdated tradition of being nude to the waist, but she is converted, for she is accompanied by a little Christogram in the field. On the triens Victory appears to be walking forward, perhaps as a remote modification of the goddess alighting on a globe on Augustus' gold. In her right hand she bears the conventional wreath, but in her other is a globus cruciger (PLATE XIII, 10). All three Victories are therefore expressly connected with the new religion. The pagan figure does indeed appear once more, on the large bronzes which Zeno struck to have the value of 40 of the miserable minimi which had been all that was left of the bronze currency. She flies to the right with wreath and trophy and is accompanied by the legend INVICT ROMA or GLORIA ROMANORVM (PLATE XIII, 9).

There were two more modifications for the Christianized Victory of the solidus to undergo. One, a minor one, was when Anastasius substituted a scepter with the Christian monogram for the long cross. The other, a major and a strange one was when on the coins of Justin I the profile figure gives place to a facing one leaning with the right hand



on a long cross and holding a globus cruciger in the left (PLATE XIII, 8). The remarkable thing is that, though the inscription is still VICTORIA AVGG, the figure wears the male attire of tunic and pallium. The ingenuity of A.A. Vasiliev and A. M. Friend has suggested that the occasion was the religious reunion with Rome of 519. Whether or not they are right, the anomaly persists through the reign of Justinian. Justin II, for whatever reason, though he kept the inscription, replaced the angel with the old figure of Constantinople enthroned. The types of semis and triens were preserved however, until the accession of Tiberius II in 578. He used only a cross for the reverses of his gold and so put an end forever to the last remnant of pagan symbolism on the Roman imperial coinage.

140 Justin the First, Cambridge, 1950. Excursus. "The Archangel Ivory in the British Museum and the Coins of Justin the First," pp. 418–420.

INDEX TO THE PLATES

I am indebted to G. K. Jenkins, R. A. G. Carson and G. LeRider for the illustrations of coins from the British Museum and the Cabinet des Medailles. If no place is indicated the illustration is taken from a published work.

		PAGE
PLATE I,	 Olympia. Nomisma VIII, p. 31, no. 19. Paris. Cyzicus. BMC Mysia, Pl. IV, 9. London. 	3 4
	3. Mallus. BMC Lycaonia, Pl. XVI, 7. London	4
	4. Olympia. Nomisma VIII, p. 45, no. 78	5, <i>7</i>
	5. ,, ibid., p. 51, no. 115	5
	6. ,, . ibid., p. 46, no. 87	5, 15
	7. ,, . ibid., p. 52, no. 120	5
	8. ,, . ibid., p. 61, no. 133	5
PLATE II,	1. Syracuse. Boehringer Die Münzen von Syrakus,	
	p. 117, no. 34. ANS	7
	2. ,, . ibid., p. 119, no. 43. ANS	7
	3. ,, . ibid., p. 120, no. 46. ANS	7
	4. Messana. cf. BMC Sicily, p. 100, no. 16. ANS	8
	5. Rhegium. BMC Italy, p. 373, no. 3. London	8
	6. Acragas. SNG Vol. 2. Lloyd Collection 805. London.	8
	7. Catana. cf. Rizzo Monete greche della Sicilia Pl. IX,	
	1. Private Collection	9
PLATE III,	1. Camarina. SNG Lloyd 862. London	9
	2. ,, . cf. SNG Vol. 4. Fitzwilliam Museum	
	946. London	9, 18
	3. Catana. BMC Sicily, p. 41, no. 1. London	10
	4. ,, . ibid. p. 42, no. 6. London	
	5. Syracuse. Boehringer, pp. 184f., no. 376. London.	_
	6. ,, . BMC Sicily, p. 176, no. 201. London.	8, 11
PLATE IV,	1. Messana. BMC Sicily, p. 104, no. 49. London	12
, and the second	2. ,, . ibid., p. 103, no. 37. London	12
	3. Syracuse. ibid., p. 172, no. 188. London	12
	4. Gela. ibid., p. 72, no. 59. London	12
	5. Camarina. ibid., p. 35, no. 14. London	
	6. Naples. cf. <i>BMC Italy</i> , p. 96, no. 25. ANS	_
	7. Heraclea. cf. ibid., p. 229, no. 38. London	_
	8. Velia. ibid., p. 313, no. 88. London	13



	PAGE
PLATE V,	1. Philip II. Gold stater. Cast in ANS 13
	2. Carthage. SNG Lloyd 1610. London
	3. ,, . ibid., 1608. London
	4. ,, . ibid., 1621. London
	5. Terina. Regling Terina, Ib. London 14
	6. ,, . ibid., 3c. London
	7. ,, . ibid., 25g. London 14, 1
	8. ,, . ibid., 30a. ANS
	9. ,, . ibid., 77g. London
	10. Abydus. BMC Troas, p. 2, no. 10. London 16, 5
	11. Lampsacus. AJN 1924, Pl. I, 10. London 17. 5
	12. ,, BMC Mysia, Pl. XIX, 9. London. 17, 20, 24
	2
PLATE VI.,	1. Camarina. SNG Lloyd 877. London 18
·	2. Himera, BMC Sicily, p. 81, no. 50. London 18
	3. Cyzicus. BMC Mysia, Pl. VI, 16. London 19.2
	4. Alexander III. Amphipolis. ANS
	5. Alexander III. Tarsus. Newell Tarsos under
	Alexander no. 47 (232) ANS
	6. Agathocles. cf. BMC Sicily, p. 195, no. 378. ANS.
	24, 27, 4
	7. ,, Giesecks Sicilia Numismatica, Pl. 21,7 24
	8. Antigonus I. Antigoneia. Newell Western Seleucid
	Mints Pl. XIV, 1. ANS
PLATE VII,	1. Seleucus I. Persepolis. Newell Eastern Seleucid
•	Mints Pl. XXXII, 14. ANS 27, 34
	2. Demetrius I. Salamis. Newell Demetrius, Pl. II,
	6. ANS 29
	3. Lysimachus. SNG Fitzwilliam, Pl. XXXIII pas-
	sim. ANS
	4. Lysimachus. ibid. ANS 30
	5. Alexander Balas. Aradus. Babelon Rois de Syric,
	Pl. XVII, 8 33
	6. Hicetas. Syracuse. cf. BMC Sicily, p. 201, no. 433. 31
	7. Philistis. cf. ibid., p. 213, no. 542. ANS 31
	8. Pyrrhus. Syracuse. BMC Thessaly, Pl. XX, 7.
	London
	9. Pyrrhus. Syracuse. ibid., Pl. XX, 8. London 32
PLATE VIII	1. Pyrrhus. Syracuse. BMC Thessaly, Pl. XX, 8.
ILMIE VIII,	London 32
	Donatin 32



		PAGE
	2. Antiochus I. Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. ESM, Pl. XV,	
	5. ANS	34
	3. Antigonus Gonatas. Æ. SNG Fitzwilliam 2313.	
	Yale	34
	1, 2. Berlin	25
	5. Seleucus II. Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. ESM, Pl.	33
	XVII, 9, 10. ANS	36. 58
	6. Seleucus I. Susa. cf. ESM, Pl. XXII, 14. ANS.	
	7. Aradus. 138/7 B.C. Newell Miscellanea Numis-	J -
	matica pp. 35-37. ANS	39
	8. Antiochus VII. Antioch. Newell Seleucid Mint of	
	Antioch Pl. X, 304. ANS.	37
	9. Aradus. 64/3 B.c. cf. BMC Phoenicia, p. 33,	
	no. 276. ANS	3 9
	10. Amisus. 120-63 B.C. cf. BMC Pontus, Pl. IV, 2.	
	ANS	•
	II. Boeotia. cf. Head <i>Boeotia</i> , Pl. VI, 7. ANS	•
D TV	12. ,, . cf. ibid., Pl. VI, 8. ANS	•
PLATE IX,	1. Tarentum. cf. SNG Fitzwilliam 305. ANS	42
	2. Romano-Campanian. Didrachm. cf. BMC Re- public III, Pl. LXXIV, 10, 11. ANS	4.4
	3. Quadrigatus. cf. ibid., Pl. LXXV, 1–5. ANS	
	4. Victoriatus. cf. ibid., Pl. XIII, 8, 12, 15. ANS	
	5. Denarius. cf. ibid., Pl. XXIII, 1, 2, 4-7	
	6. C. Metellus. Denarius. cf. ibid., Pl. XXX, 8. ANS.	-
	7. M. Cato. Denarius. cf. ibid., Pl. XCV, 15, 16. ANS.	• •
	8. C. Malleolus. Denarius. cf. ibid., Pl. XCVI, 3. ANS	47
	9. Longus. Denarius. cf. ibid., Pl. LVI, 10. ANS	4 9
	10. Athens. 123/2 B.C. Thompson New Style Silver,	
	p. 361. ANS	48
	11. Sulla. Denarius. cf. BMC Republic III, Pl. CX,	
	5-10. ANS	4 9
PLATE X,	1. Caesar. Denarius. cf. BMC Republic III, Pl. LIV,	
	5, 6. ANS	50
	2. L. Aemilius. Buca. cf. ibid., Pl. LIV, 10. ANS	50
	3. ,, . cf. ibid., Pl. LIV, 12. ANS	50
	4. Augustus. Denarius. cf. BMC Empire I, Pl. 15,	
	6, 7	52
	5. Augustus. Denarius. cf. ibid., Pl. 14, 19. ANS	53



		PAGE
	6. Augustus. Quinarius. cf. ibid., Pl. 15, 20. ANS	5 3
	7. ,, Denarius. cf. ibid., Pl. 9, 8. ANS	54, 55
	8. ,, . ,, . cf. ibid., Pl. 9, 5. ANS	54 , 55
	9. ,, Gold quinarius. cf. ibid., Pl. 11, 12. ANS.	55
	10. ,, Sestertius. cf. ibid., Pl. 20, 5	55
PLATE XI,	1. Augustus. Aureus. cf. BMC Empire I, Pl. 16, 14.	55
	2. , Sestertius. cf. ibid., Pl. 21, 1. ANS	56
	3. Tiberius. Dupondius. cf. ibid., Pl. 25, 11. London.	•
	4. Claudius. Aureus. cf. ibid., Pl. 31, 5. ANS	57
	5. Vitellius. Sestertius. cf. ibid., Pl. 63, 6. ANS	
	6. Vespasian. Aureus. cf. BMC Empire II, Pl. 6, 7, 8.	<i>J</i> ,
	ANS.	58
	7. Vespasian. Aureus. cf. ibid., Pl. 5, 3. ANS	_
	8. ,, . ,, . ibid., Pl. 7, 13. London	_
	9. Septimius Severus. Aureus. BMC Empire V, Pl.	•
	33, 12. London	60
PLATE XII,	1. Vespasian. Sestertius. cf. BMC Empire II, Pl. 22,	
,	11. ANS	58
	2. Valerian. Antoninianus. RIC V. 1. p. 60, nos.	Je
	294–296. ANS	60
	3. Trajan. Sestertius. cf. BMC Empire III, Pl. 30, 1.	
	ANS	50
	4. Commodus. Sestertius. BMC Empire IV, Pl. 105, 8.	Jy
	London	5 9
	5. Constans I. Æ. Cohen VII p. 431, no. 176. ANS	61
	6. Septimius Severus. Denarius. cf. BMC Empire V,	
	Pl. 44, 13. ANS	61
	7. Arcadius. Æ. cf. RIC IX, p. 234, no. 86(c). ANS.	
	8. Constantinople. Cohen VII, p. 324, no. 12. ANS.	
Dr ATE VIII	1. Constans I. Æ. Cohen VII, p. 406, no. 9. ANS	
FLAIE AIII,	2. Constantine I. Solidus. ibid., p. 305, no. 652. ANS.	
	3. Diocletian. Aureus, RIC V, Part 2, Pl. XII, 15.	02
	ANS	62
	4. Gratian. Solidus. cf. <i>RIC</i> IX, p. 77, 5(d). ANS	62
	5. Eudoxia. Solidus. cf. Tolstoi, Pl. 4, 136–140. ANS.	
	6. Theodosius II. Solidus. cf. ibid., Pl. 5, 47. ANS.	
	C ' (111 D) = C (- ANC	_
	7. , Semis. ci. ibid., Pl. 5, 61, 62. ANS. 8. Justin I. <i>BMC Byzantine</i> , Pl. II, 10, 11. ANS	_
	9. Zeno. Æ. cf. Tolstoi, Pl. 10, 65	64 62
	10. Leo I. Triens. cf. Tolstoi, Pl. 8, 19–21	63
	10. Let 1. 111clis. Cl. 101st01, 11. 0, 19-21	U3

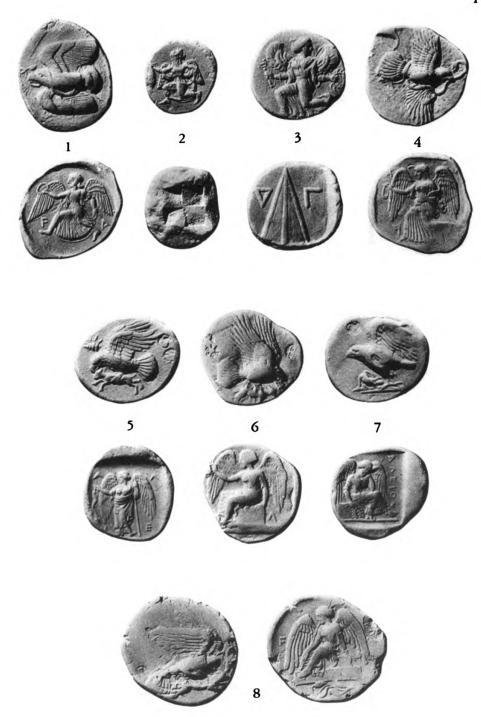


PLATES



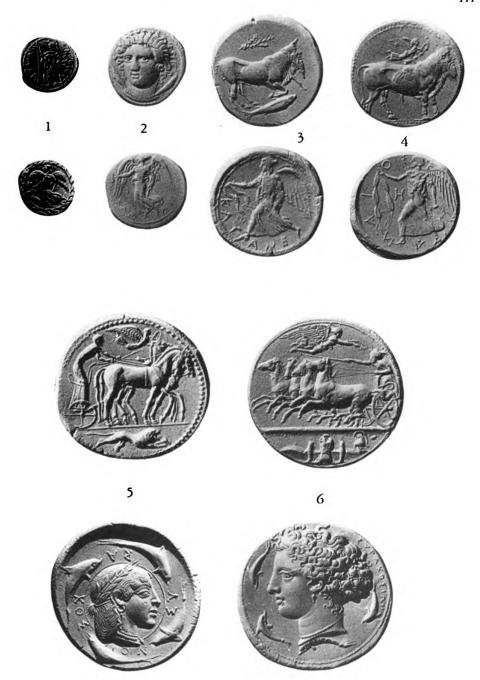
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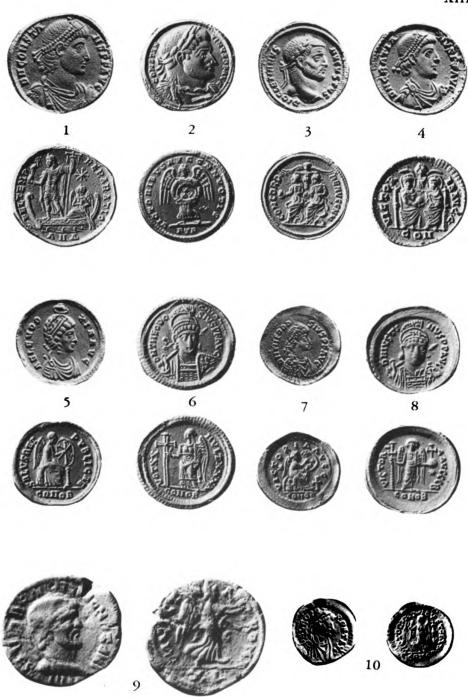












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By GEORGE C. MILES



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

NEW YORK

1963



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AT J.J.AUGUSTIN- GLÜCKSTADT



TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD	vii
ABBREVIATIONS	хi
THE BENAKI MUSEUM COLLECTION	I
I. UMAYYAD OFFICIALS	I
II. 'ABBASID OFFICIALS	IO
III. UNIDENTIFIED OFFICIALS	21
IV. ANONYMOUS COIN WEIGHTS	23
V. ANONYMOUS DISK-WEIGHTS	24
VI. ANONYMOUS RING-WEIGHTS	25
VII. ANONYMOUS AND UNIDENTIFIED VESSEL STAMPS	25
VIII. PRIVATE WEIGHT	27
THE PETER RUTHVEN COLLECTION	2 8
I. UMAYYAD OFFICIALS	2 8
II. 'ABBĀSID OFFICIALS	39
III. UNIDENTIFIED OFFICIALS	51
IV. ANONYMOUS WEIGHTS	53
V. ANONYMOUS VESSEL STAMPS	54
VI. UNIDENTIFIED WEIGTHS	55
VII. UNIDENTIFIED VESSEL STAMPS	57
INDICES	59



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FOREWORD

In the preceding volume in this series, Contributions to Arabic Metrology, I (Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 141), comprising a catalogue of early glass weights and stamps acquired by the American Numismatic Society during the years 1951 to 1956, the writer stated his intention of preparing similar catalogues of certain unpublished public and private collections of such Arab glass metrological objects, preliminary to an eventual comprehensive treatment of the whole subject based on the largest possible body of material. Two of these collections are presented herewith: that of the Benaki Museum in Athens, and the Peter Ruthven Collection on deposit in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor.

May I express here to the authorities of these two museums my appreciation of their courtesy and cooperation in permitting me to publish these collections and in making it possible for me to examine them in detail and at leisure. In 1954 Dr. Manuel Chatzidakis, Director of the Benaki Museum, kindly sent me photographs of the weights and measure stamps in his care, and in the early winter of 1960 I had the opportunity to study these pieces at first hand. Mrs. Helen Polychroniades was kind enough to transfer the collection from the exhibition cases and to allow me to work on it in her own office. Some years ago Dr. Richard Ettinghausen called my attention to the existence of an important collection of glass weights and measure stamps belonging to



¹ It gives me pleasure to record my indebtedness to the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation and to the American Council of Learned Societies for grants which enabled me to do this and other research work in Greece in 1960.

Mr. Peter Ruthven, and in 1957 I was able to examine a part of this collection during a brief visit in Ann Arbor. I am indebted to Dr. E. E. Peterson, formerly Director of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, where the Ruthven Collection is deposited, not only for obtaining permission for me to publish this material but also for arranging to have the entire collection sent to me in New York for study.

Both collections add important unpublished material to the corpus of 8th and 9th century Egyptian glass metrological objects. The Benaki Museum collection, formed by the late Mr. Antony Benaki in Egypt, contains no less than 25 unpublished types, and the Ruthven Collection almost the same number. Particular attention is drawn to the following pieces in the Benaki Museum collection: no. 23 (a half "great ratl" dated 12x H.), no. 30 (a "great wuqīyah" of 'Āṣim b. Ḥafṣ), no. 34 (a measure for henna), no. 37 (a half ratl of 'Abd al-Rahman b. Yazid with Yazid b. Hatim), nos. 45-46 (wuqīyah disk-weights of Muhammad b. Sa'īd with 'Umar b. Yahya) and no. 74 (a measure for beans). In the Ruthven Collection the following are especially noteworthy: no. 6 (a 24(?) qīrāt weight of Bishr b. Safwān, the first of this official to be published), no. 7 (a quarter rate of grapes), no. 11 (a measure of fruit of the gingerbread tree, Hyphaene thebaica), no. 15 (a measure of field cress, Lepidium campestre), no. 18 (a measure of privet, Buxus dioica), nos. 33-34 (fine "great ratl" ring-weights of Ibrāhīm b. Sālih with 'Āṣim b. Ḥafṣ and Yazīd b. Ziyād), no. 38 (a onethird ratl ring-weight dated 230 H.), no. 40 (a fals weight of Mu'āwiyah b. Rāshid), and no. 41 (a "great wuqīyah" of al-Mufaddal b. Sulayman), both the latter being unidentified officials and previously unrecorded. Both collections contain Fātimid, Ayyūbid and Mamlūk weights and tokens, which I hope to describe in a future publication.

In order to avoid unnecessary duplication and for reasons of economy the descriptions of published types are abbrevi-



Foreword ix

ated in the catalogue. The texts and translations of previously unpublished specimens are given in full. Both texts and translations of pieces identical with ones in *Contributions to Arabic Metrology*, I, are omitted; the texts only are given for types published elsewhere. The printing of these latter texts, and the illustration of a good many of these published pieces in the plates, is I believe justified because the principal catalogues (the British Museum catalogue, Casanova's catalogue of the Fouquet Collection, and Petrie's catalogue of the University College Collection) are very difficult to obtain and my *Early Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps* is now out of print.

In Contributions to Arabic Metrology, I (p. v) the hope was expressed that other students working in this field would contribute to the corpus by publishing collections to which they had access. It is cause for satisfaction that several catalogues of weights and measure stamps have meanwhile appeared: Abdel-Rahman Fahmy's Early Islamic Coin Weights, a catalogue of the very numerous Umayyad and 'Abbāsid coin weights in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo; F. Viré's catalogue of the Abdul-Wahab Collection; W. Dudzus' description of a few Umayyad weights and stamps in the Islamic Museum and the Numismatic Cabinet in Berlin; Mme Launois' catalogue of the Jean Maspero collection and of a few other pieces in the Cabinet des Médailles; and A. Kmietowicz's publication of a few pieces in

- ² See the abstract in ANS Numismatic Literature, No. 46, Jan. 1959, pp. 367–368, where comment is made on the difficulty of collating this catalogue with that of Mme Launois. Cf. also G. C. Miles, "Islamic Numismatics: a Progress Report," in Congresso Internazionale di Numismatica, Roma 11–16 Settembre 1961, Vol. I (Relazioni), Rome, 1961, p. 188. Fahmy's catalogue bears the date 1957 but was not available until 1958 after CAM I had appeared.
- 3 Published in 1956 but not seen by the writer until 1958.
- 4 In Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst, Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel (Berlin, 1959), pp. 275–282; and Forschungen und Berichte, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Band 3/4, Berlin, 1961, pp. 18–24.



Polish museums.⁵ All these contributions, together with the present catalogue, bring us closer to the ultimate objective, a definitive corpus and analysis of this material.

The two collections described in the following pages are catalogued separately. The plan of each of these catalogues in general follows that of Early Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps and Contributions to Arabic Metrology, I. Diameters are in millimeters, and weights in grams. Following the metrological data of each piece is the inventory number of the collection, preceded by "B." for Benaki, "R." for Ruthven. The reproductions of the objects in the Benaki Museum are from photographs, those in the Ruthven Collection for the most part from plaster-casts.

⁵ In Folia Orientalia, Kraków, 1959, pp. 135-141.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Ahmed Issa: Ahmed Issa Bey, Dictionnaire des noms des plantes en latin, français, anglais et arabe, Cairo, 1930.
- BM: Stanley Lane-Poole, Catalogue of Arabic Glass Weights in the British Museum, London, 1891.
- Bedevian: A. K. Bedevian, Illustrated Polyglottic Dictionary of Plant Names, Cairo, 1936.
- CAM I: George C. Miles, Contributions to Arabic Metrology, I (American Numismatic Society Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 141), New York, 1958.
- Dioscorides: The Greek Herbal of Dioscorides. The edition used is Robert T. Gunther's re-edition of the early English translation of John Goodyer, Oxford, 1934.
- Dispensatory: The Dispensatory of the United States of America, 25th ed., Philadelphia, 1955.
- Dozy, Supplément: R. Dozy, Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes, 2nd ed., Leiden & Paris, 1927.
- EAG: George C. Miles, Early Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps (American Numismatic Society Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 111), New York, 1948.
- EAG Suppl.: George C. Miles, Early Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps: A Supplement (American Numismatic Society Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 120), New York, 1951.
- EGPM: George C. Miles, "Egyptian Glass Pharmaceutical Measures of the 8th Century A.D.," Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences, XV, 1960, pp. 384-389.
- Fahmy: Abdel-Rahman Fahmy, Sinaj al-sikkah fi fajr al-Islām (Early Islamic Coin Weights), Cairo, 1957.
- Fouquet Collection: P. Casanova, Catalogue des pièces de verre des époques byzantine et arabe de la collection Fouquet (Mémoires ... de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire, VI), Paris, 1893.
- Garbers: Karl Garbers, Kitāb kīmiyā' al-ʿīṭr wat-taṣʿīdāt, Buch über die Chemie des Parfüms und die Destillationen von Yaʿqūb b. Ishāq al-Kindī (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, XXX), Leipzig, 1948.
- Al-Ghāfiqi: M. Meyerhof and G. P. Sobhy, The Abridged Version of "The Book of Simple Drugs" of Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Ghâfiqî by Gregorius Abu'l-Farag (Barhebraeus), The Egyptian University, Faculty of Medicine, Publication no. 4, Cairo, 1932–1940.



- Grieve: M. Grieve, A Modern Herbal, New York, 1931.
- Grohmann, Corpus: Adolf Grohmann, Corpus Papyrorum Raineri Archiducis Austriae, Series III, Arabica, Bd. I, 1-3, Vienna, 1923-1924.
- Ibn al-Bayţār: Kitāb al-jāmi' li-mufradāt al-adwiyah wa'l-Aghdhiyah, transl. L. Leclerc, in Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Vols. 23¹, 25¹ and 26¹), Paris, 1877–1883.
- Al-Kindi: The Governors and Judges of Egypt, ed. Rhuvon Guest, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, Vol. XIX, London, 1912.
- Lane: Edward William Lane, An Arabic-English Lexicon, London, 1863-1893.
- Launois: A. Launois, Estampilles et poids faibles en verre omeyyades et abbassides au Musée Arabe du Caire (Extrait des Mélanges Islamologiques, III), Cairo, 1956.
- Launois, Cabinet des Médailles: A. Launois, "Estampilles et poids en verre musulmans du Cabinet des Médailles", in Catalogue des étalons monétaires et autres pièces musulmanes en verre (see below), pp. 53-67.
- Launois, Maspero: A. Launois, Catalogue des étalons monétaires et autres pièces musulmanes en verre de la Collection Jean Maspero, Paris, 1960.
- Muschler: Reno Muschler, A Manual Flora of Egypt, Berlin, 1912.
- Rogers, JRAS, 1878: E. T. Rogers, "Unpublished glass weights and measures," in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1878, pp. 98-112.
- Schweinfurth: G. Schweinfurth, Arabische Pflanzennamen aus Aegypten, Algerien und Jemen, Berlin, 1912.
- University College: Sir Flinders Petrie, Glass Stamps and Weights illustrated from the Egyptian Collection in University College, London (Publications of the Egyptian Research Account and British School of Archaeology in Egypt, XL), London, 1926.
- Viré: F. Viré, "Dénéraux, estampilles et poids musulmans en verre en Tunisie (Collection H. H. Abdul-Wahab)," in Les Cahiers de Tunisie IV, 1956, pp. 17-90.
- Wüstenfeld, Die Statthalter: F. Wüstenfeld, Die Statthalter von Ägypten zur Zeit der Chalisen, Göttingen, 1875 -1876.



THE BENAKI MUSEUM COLLECTION

I. UMAYYAD OFFICIALS

A. Usāmah b. Zayd

Finance Director, 96–99 A. H.: 714–717 A.D. Interim Governor, 102 A.H.: 720–721 A.D.

COIN WEIGHTS

1. Dīnār.

امر اسا

مة بن زيد

ميزان د 🛪

ينر واف

Green, 29, 4.28 (B.9489)

PLATE I

Similar to Launois, Maspero, 3.

2. One-half dīnār.

Similar to CAM I, 4-5.

Pale blue-green, 23, 2.21 (B.9502)

PLATE I

3. Fals of 10 qīrāṭ.

امرا Order of Usāmah b. Za-

يد ميزان ا yd, weight of th-

e fals (?) of twen(ty)

I

قراريط qarārīṭ.

Pale blue-green, 22, 2.03 (B. 9507)



1

Unpublished. Fals weights of 10 qīrāṭ are exceedingly uncommon: my records show only two other specimens. The weight is a little high, the theoretical weight for 10 qīrāṭ being 1.95.

VESSEL STAMP

4. Measure of lentils ('adas).

Pale green, 32, frg. lacking (B. 9437)

Plate I

Possibly similar to Fouquet Collection p. 367, no. 99, incompletely preserved. For the pharmaceutical uses of 'adas, lentils, see EAG Suppl., pp. 45-46; also Garbers, p. 165.

B. Ḥayyān b. Shurayḥ Finance Director, ca. 99-101 A.H.: 717-720 A.D.

VESSEL STAMP

5. Measure of dessicated chick-peas (himmas mahshūsh).

Pale green, 34 (B. 9449)

PLATE I

Cf. Launois, 16, the 4th line read جشوش, "broyé, concassé," and the 5th line reconstructed وافاية. For محشوش, "dessicated", see *CAM* I, pp. 110–111, and for the pharmaceutical properties of himmas, chick-peas, see *EAG Suppl.*, p. 23.



C. 'Ubaydullāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb Finance Director, 102-116 A.H.: 720-734 A.D.¹

COIN WEIGHTS

6. One-third dīnār.

مما امر به عبید ا لله ابن الحبحا ب مثقال ثلث واف

Green, 19, 1.43 (B. 9497)

PLATE I

Similar to EAG 11.

7. Fals of 24 kharrūbah.

Similar to CAM I, 25; Launois, Maspero, 5.

Green, 30, 4.72 (B. 9491)

PLATE I

8. Fals of 18 kharrūbah.

Similar to CAM I, 29.

Green, 27, 3.71 (B. 9488)

PLATE I

The word نه is definitely lacking, and the 4th line is clearly عنه اعشر (not clear on CAM I, 29), as on Launois, 54–56, Fahmy, 25ff., and University College, 100–101.

VESSEL STAMP

9. Measure of chick-peas (himmas).

بسم الله ا مر عبيد الله بن ا لحبحاب بصنعة مكيلة حمص In the name of Allāh: ordered 'Ubaydullāh b. all-Ḥabḥāb the making of a measure of himmas, full measure.

وافیه Tull mes Green, 45 (B. 9435)

PLATE I

¹ For "106" read "116" in CAM I, p. 9.

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It will be noted that here and elsewhere I have read (bi-ṣan'ati), instead of , that is, "the making," rather than "the making of it," as I have in previous publications. The orthography is, of course, identical in Kufic script, but the former reading is doubtless more logical. This suggestion was made by Harold W. Glidden in his review of CAM I in American Journal of Archaeology 63 (1959), p. 323.

D. Al-Qāsim b. 'Ubaydullāh Finance Director, 116–124 A.H.: 734–742 A.D.

COIN WEIGHTS

10. One-half dīnār.

بسم الله بسم الله الله In the name of Allāh:
مرالقاسم ordered al-Qāsim
b. 'Ubaydullāh,
weight of a half,
full weight.

Green, 22, 2.17 (B. 9504)

PLATE I

Unpublished.

11–12. Fals of 30 kharrūbah. With Muslim b. al-'Arrāf. Dated 119 A.H.: 737 A.D.

Similar to CAM I, 51, EAG, 30, etc.

11. Green with claret splotches, 34, 5.98 (B. 9486)

12. Brownish green, 34, 5.90 (B. 9480)

PLATE I

The curious name of the prefect and its misspelling is discussed in CAM I, p. 19, and EAG Suppl., pp. 11-12. In a review of CAM I in American Journal of Archaeology 63 (1959), p. 323, Harold W. Glidden has pointed out that is probably simply an error.



VESSEL STAMPS

13. One-half qist. With Ṣaffār b. Shabbah. Dated 122 A.H.: 739-740 A.D.

Similar to CAM I, 58, with first line, بسم الله, preserved.

Green, 40 (B. 9448)

PLATE I

See CAM I, pp. 22-23, and the references there, for remarks on the name of the prefect.

14. One-quarter qist (?).

Similar to CAM I, 60.

Green, 37 (B. 9438)

PLATE I

This curious stamp with the word is very common; I have recorded 16 other specimens.

15. One-quarter qist. With Muslim b. al-'Arrāf. Dated 119 A.H.: 737 A.D.

Similar to CAM I, 61, with the same error in the spelling of al-Qāsim's name; last letter only of the digit of the date preserved.

Brownish green, 36 (B. 9436)

PLATE II

¹ In previous publications I have placed Ḥafṣ b. al-Walīd before al-Qāsim b. 'Ubaydullāh, but in view of the very large number of his weights and measure stamps I now believe they should be assigned to the longer period of his activity, that is, to the period between 124 and 128 A.H.



E. Ḥafṣ b. al-Walīd

[Governor, 108 A.H. (part): 727 A.D.]¹
Governor, 124-127 A.H.: 742-744 A.D.
Finance Director, 124-125 A.H.: 742-743 A.D.
Governor, 127-128 A.H.: 745-746 A.D.

COIN WEIGHT

16. One-third dīnār.

يسم الله	In the name of Allāh:
امر الامير	order of the amīr
حفس بن الو	Ḥafṣ b. al-Wa-
ليد مثقال	līd, weight of
۔ ثلث دینر	a third dīnār.

Green, 21, 1.42 (B. 9499)

PLATE II

Unpublished. Other one-third $d\bar{\imath}n\bar{a}r$ weights of Hafs b. al-Walīd, but of different types, are Launois, 105 = Fahmy, 43, and Rogers, JRAS 1877, no. 15.

DISK-WEIGHT

17. Rațl. Dated 12x A.H.: ca. 741-746 A.D.

يسم الله ا	In the name of Allah: or-
مرالامير حفص	dered the amīr Ḥafṣ
بن الوليد بصنعة	b. al-Walīd the making of
[ر] طل واف سنة	a raṭl, full weight, year
و عش[رین]	and twen[ty]

Dark green, 105 \times 79 (fragmentary), thickness 21, stamp 45+, 172+ gr. (B. 9467) PLATE II

Unpublished. My reconstruction of a fragmentary legend on a disk-weight of Ḥafṣ b. al-Walīd (EAG, 25), which I interpreted as "a raṭl and $\frac{1}{4}$ wuqīyah (?)," is probably to be corrected to read "raṭl, year 124."



F. Yazīd b. abi-Yazīd

Prefect, ca. 116-127 A.H.: 734-745 A.D. Finance Director (?), ca. 127 A.H.: 745 A.D.

COIN WEIGHT

18. One-third dīnār.

Similar to CAM I, 67.

Green, 20, 1.43 (B. 9500)

PLATE II

VESSEL STAMPS

19. Qist of meat (?).

امريزيد Order of Yazīd ... نابی يز b. abi-Yaz-تd, qisṭ for laḥm (?), full wei-

ن ght.

PLATE II

Unpublished.

Bluish green, 23 (B. 9458)

20. One-quarter qist of olive oil(zayt).

Similar to CAM I, 72-73.

Green, 35 (B. 9453)

PLATE II

G. 'Isâ b. abi-'Aṭā

Finance Director, 125-127 A.H.: 743-745 A.D. 128-131 A.H.: 745-749 A.D.

COIN WEIGHTS

21. One-half dīnār. With Yazīd b. abi-Yazīd.

Similar to CAM I, 76, abbreviated and garbled.

Green, 22, 2.16 (B. 9501)

PLATE II



22. One-third dīnār. With Yazīd b. abi -Yazīd.

In the name of Allāh:
'Isâ b. abi-
'Aṭā, the making of
a weight of one-third, at
the hands of Yazīd b.
Yazīd (sic) .

Brownish green, 20, 1.43 (B. 9505)

PLATE II

Unpublished. Cf. Fahmy, 73, which may perhaps have the same legends, but where [امر] in the 2nd line, and اعراق in the 6th, are transcribed by the editor. Here the word امر is definitely lacking, as is اعراق in the name of the prefect.

H. Uncertain Umayyad Official

DISK-WEIGHT

23. One-half great rați (?). Dated 12x A.H.: ca. 738-747 A.D. Stamp A (center):

```
one-hal[f rațl] (?)

[مرائی میلانی میلانی از میلانی میلانی میلانی از میلانی میلانی میلانی از میلانی میلانی میلانی از میلانی از میلانی از میلانی از میلانی میلانی از میلانی
```

Stamp B (left):

.

twenty (?) عشرین (۱۹) عشرین (۱۹) and one hundred.

Stamp C (right):

Full weight الوفا to Allāh.

Dark green, 105×46 (fragmentary); thickness, 18; 109+

Stamp A: 34 Stamp B: 23 Stamp C: 18 (B. 9468) PLATE III



Unpublished. With regard to the pious exhortation, I adopt Harold W. Glidden's proposal (American Journal of Archaeology 63 (1959), p. 323) that the word al-wafā' in the context of these metrological objects would be better translated "full weight" or "full measure", rather than "honesty".

I. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān
 Finance Director, 131–132 A.H.: 749 A.D.
 Governor, 132–133 A.H.: 750 A.D.

DISK-WEIGHT

24. [Wuqiyah]. 'Abd al-Malik b. [Marwān?].

Obverse:

[ب]سم الله ا	[In] the name of Allah: or-
[مر عبد] الملك بن	[dered 'Abd] al-Malik b.
[مرون؟ بص]نعة و	[Marwan(?) the mak]ing of a wu-
[قَبَّةُ وَافَ؟] عَلَى يَدَى	$q\bar{\imath}yah$, full weight(?)], at the hands

Reverse: Circular legend, الله (۱) الله Nothing in center?

Green, 55; thickness, 7; 17.50+ (fragmentary) (B. 9475) PLATE III Unpublished.

VESSEL STAMP

25. *Qist*.

In the name of Allāh: ordered
[A]llāh full measure, and ordered
[t]he amīr 'Abd al-Malik
b. Marwān the making of a <i>qist</i> , full measure.

Green, 36 (B. 9434) Unpublished. PLATE III



II. 'ABBĀSID OFFICIALS

A. Muḥammad b. Shuraḥbīl
Prefect, ca. 132-152 A.H.: ca. 749-769 A.D.

DISK-WEIGHT

26. One-sixth wuqīyah.

Obverse:

[S]ixth [wu]qīyah] [و]قبة

Reverse: Center: within linear circle,

کامل Kāmil

Green, 29+ (fragmentary) (B. no inventory number) PLATE III

Unpublished. Compare a very similar one-sixth wuqīyah weight, no. 36, below, and BM, 18, with perhaps identical obverse (it is uncertain whether the present piece has a third line), and with in the center of the reverse, issued by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd.

B. 'Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd

Governor and Finance Director 133-136 A.H.: 751-753 A.D.

137-141 A.H.: 755-758 A.D.

COIN WEIGHT

10

27. Fals of 24 kharrūbah.

Similar to CAM I, 100.

Green, 29, 4.52 (B. 9484)

PLATE III



RING-WEIGHT

28. Raţl. With Muḥammad b. Shurahbīl.

بسم الله امر عبد الملک بن یز ید بصنعة رطل واف علی یدی محمد بن شر

Dark green, top only (both sides and bottom lacking), $63 \times 50 \times 26$ Stamp, 40 (B. 9439)

PLATE III

Similar to EAG Suppl., 19.

VESSEL STAMP

29. One-quarter qist. With Muhammad b. Shurahbīl.

Similar to CAM I, 102–103.

Green, 31 (B. 9452)

PLATE III

C. 'Aṣim b. Ḥafṣ Prefect, ca. 133-141 A.H.: 751-758 A.D. ca. 165-169 A.H.: 781-786 A.D.

DISK-WEIGHT

30. Great Wuqiyah.

Stamp A:

[wu]qīyah کبیر kabīr

[full] weight.

Stamp B:

على يدى At the hands of

عاصم 'Aṣim بن حفص b. Ḥafṣ.

Brownish green, 58×29 (fragmentary); thickness, 14; 25.40+ Stamp A: 17+ Stamp B: 19×17 (B. 9476) PLATE IV

Unpublished. Another stamp may possibly have been present above stamp A.

D. The Caliph al-Manṣūr 136-158 A.H.: 754-775 A.D.

VESSEL STAMP

31. One-half (?) qist.

ىما امر بە

عبد الله عبد

[الا]ه امير المومن[ين]

[او]فوا الكيل ولا

[تك]ونوا من المخسر[ين]

نصف قسط

وا[ف]

Green, 41 (B. 9445)

Similar to EAG, 55.

PLATE IV

32. Measure of lupine (turmus).

امر عبد Ordered the Servant of Allāh 'Abdu-

الله امير المؤ llāh, Commander of the Faith-

ful, the making of a measure of turmus,

full measure.

Green, 45 (B. 9443)

PLATE IV

Unpublished, but cf. EAG Suppl., 15, for another measure of lupine issued by al-Manṣūr with a different arrangement of the legend. For i, lupine, and its pharmaceutical uses see EAG Suppl., pp. 14–15.

33. Measure of shelled pomegranate (jullanār al-muqashshar).

امر عبدا له عبد [اا]له [ا]مير المنو مر[ن] (sic) بصنعة مكيا[ة] جانار الم[قشر] واف

Green, 31 (B. 9451)

PLATE I

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Similar to Launois, 149, read جلبان القشر, "pois décortiqué." See CAM I, pp. 110–112, for my argument that the word usually interpreted as جلبان, "chickling vetch," is more probably, "pomegranate." See also Garbers, pp. 208–210, where full references to the botanical and pharmaceutical literature on the pomegranate are given. In footnote 84 in CAM I, p. 111, the reference to al-Ghāfiqi should be corrected to read pp. 394–395 (Fasc. II, Cairo, 1937).

34. Measure of pulverized henna (hinnā mard).

امر عبدا له عبد (sic) امیر لمؤ منین (sic) بصنعة مکه (sic) حنا مرد واف

Ordered the Servant of A-llāh 'Abd (sic), Commander of the Faithful, the making of a meas- (sic) of hinnā mard, full measure.

Green, 44 (B. 9446)

PLATE IV

Unpublished. I am not certain of the meaning of مرد, mard. It might mean "crumbled or broken into small pieces with the fingers, and then moistened," or a sort of plaster, or "softened, steepened, dissolved." Several measure stamps for henna have come to my attention, but none with this qualification except the Benaki Museum specimen. In 1960 the American Numismatic Society acquired an unpublished stamp of Usāmah b. Zayd for "henna for the head" (حنا الراس); in the University College collection there are two imperfectly preserved stamps (nos. 119 and 142) with the legend:; in Muntaza Palace in Alexandria, an unpublished piece with (عنا الراس); and in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva another unpublished stamp with ... In the latter two cases the qualifying word might perhaps be the same as here, the last letter malformed and omitted respectively.

- ¹ Lane, p. 2706, here with reference to bread moistened in broth.
- 2 Cf. مَرَد, H. Wehr, A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (Ithaca, 1961).
- مرد .Steingass, s.v. مرد



In addition to its use as a dye for the hair and fingers, henna (Lawsonia inermis, sometimes called Lawsonia alba) has been recognized since antiquity as having certain medicinal properties. Dioscorides, who called it Kupros, wrote that the best variety grew in Ascalon and Canopus and that it was useful for ulcers in the mouth, as a decoction for burns and as a poultice for carbuncles and inflammations. In mediaeval and more recent times henna has been employed in the treatment of jaundice, leprosy, small-pox and skin disorders. It is interesting to note that today the Dispensatory lists henna as a naturally occuring naphthoquinone with antihemorrhagic activity in lawsone (3-hydroxy-1, 4-naphthoquinone).1

E. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath
Governor, 141-143 A.H.: 759-760 A.D.

VESSEL STAMP

35. Measure of white chick-peas (himmas al-abyad). With 'Abdullāh b. Rāshid.

الأمير محمد [ن] amīr Muḥammad [b.]
الأشعث بصنه[ة] al-Ash'ath the making
مكيلة حمص الآ[ي]
مكيلة حمص الآ[ي]
مرابة على يدى ع[بد]
مالي على يدى عابد]
مالي على يدى عابد [u]llāh b. Rāsh[id].

Green, 34, with fragment of rim (B. 9447)

PLATE IV

Unpublished, but probably similar to EAG Suppl., 24. where the word الاييض, white, is not preserved but probably was originally present. The "white" variety of Cicer arictinum is known (cf. EAG Suppl., p. 23).



¹ Dioscorides, I, 124 (Gunther, p. 65); Grieve, pp. 404-405; Dispensatory, p. 790.

F. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd Prefect, ca. 141-152 A.H.: 759-769 A.D.

DISK-WEIGHT

36. One-sixth wuqīyah.

Similar to CAM I, 135 (the letters عبد ال effaced on the reverse).

Brownish green, 30, 6.25 (B. 9490).

PLATE IV

Compare no. 26, above.

G. Yazīd b. Ḥātim

Governor, 144-152 A.H.: 762-769 A.D.

DISK-WEIGHT

37. One-half rațl. With 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd.

Stamp A (center):

بسم الله
In the name of Allāh:
على يدى عبد
at the hands of 'Abd
al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd,
one-half raṭl,
full weight.

Stamp B (lower left):

بسم الله بيم الله In the name of Allāh:
مر الأمير order of the amīr
[مر الأمير Yazīd b. Ḥ[ātim]

Dark green, 103×87 (fragment lacking); thickness, 18; 168+ Stamp A: 39 Stamp B: 27 (B. 9466) PLATE V

Unpublished. The last line of stamp B is doubtless اصلحه الله, as on no. 38, immediately below.



RING-WEIGHT

38. Uncertain weight. With Muhammad b. Shurahbīl.

Stamp A (left):

يسم الله

In the name of Allah:

امر الامير

order of the amīr

يزيد بن حاتم اصلحه الله Yazīd b. Ḥātim, may Allāh keep him straight.

Stamp B (right):

[؛]سم الله

[In] the name of Allāh:

[علی] یدی محمد

[at] the hands of Muhammad

[b. Shuraḥ]bīl,

.

Dark green, $57 \times 46 \times 28$ (part of top only) Stamp A: 30 Stamp B: 33 (B. 9442)

PLATE V

Unpublished. The name of the prefect has been reconstructed by comparison with several weights and measure stamps on which the names of Yazīd b. Ḥātim and Muḥammad b. Shuraḥbīl occur together: University College, 161, CAM I, 142, Launois, 189 bis, and an unpublished one-quarter qist stamp in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo.

VESSEL STAMP

39. Executive stamp.

Similar to CAM I, 144.

Green, 31 (B. 9456)

PLATE V

H. Salamah

Prefect or Finance Director, sometime ca. 144-157 A.H.: 762-774 A.D.

COIN WEIGHTS

40. 30 kharrūbah.

Similar to *CAM* I, 147–149.

Green, 28, 5.82 (B. 9758)



41. 26 kharrūbah.

Similar to CAM I, 150.

Pale green, 30, fragmentary, one half lacking (B. 9753)

I. 'Umar [b. Yaḥyâ]

Prefect or Finance Director, sometime ca. 152-157(?) A.H.: 769-774(?) A.D.

COIN WEIGHTS

42-43. 32 kharrūbah.

Similar to *CAM* I, 155–159.

42. Green, 32, 6.22 (B. 9479)

PLATE V

43. Green, 31, fragmentary (B. 9494)

For the proposed identification of 'Umar with 'Umar b. Yaḥyâ and his probable dates, see CAM I, p. 62.

J. Muḥammad b. Sa'īd
Governor, 152-157 (?) A.H.: 769-774 (?) A.D.

COIN WEIGHT

44. One-third dīnār.

امر الا

مبر محمد

بن سعيد

مثقال ثلث

Green, 19, 1.48 (B. 9503)

PLATE V

Similar to *University College*, 186, which has a stamp on the reverse with an effaced prefect's name and that of the artisan Severus. My notes record no reverse stamp on the Benaki Museum weight, but I may have failed to examine the reverse.

¹ See CAM I, pp. 63-64, where this name is discussed.

2



DISK-WEIGHTS

45-46. Wuqīyah. With 'Umar b. Yaḥyâ.

Stamp A (center):

امر الله بيم الله In the name of Allāh:

order of the amīr

Muḥammad b. Sa'īd,

wuqīyah, full weight.

Stamp B (at bottom):

على يدى At the hands of على يدى 'Umar b. Yaḥyâ

On No. 45 the two stamps are impressed on the same axis; on no. 46, stamp B is upside-down with reference to stamp A.

- 45. Light green with gray patina, 59×53; thickness, 9; 36.50 (intact) Stamp A: 32 Stamp B: 21 (B. 9469) PLATE VI
- 46. Green, 52×27, about ½ lacking; thickness, 8; 16.65+ Stamp A: 28+ Stamp B: 21 (B. 9477)

Unpublished. The symbol at the bottom of stamp A is discussed in CAM I, p. 65. H. W. Glidden in his review of CAM I (American Journal of Archaeology 63, 1959, p. 323) suggests that this symbol might be the initial of Salamah since it occurs on a weight bearing his name (CAM I, 166, and cf. no. 47, below), but the present weight would not support this hypothesis, nor do I know of any instance in early Islamic numismatics or metrology of the use of an initial to represent a name.

RING-WEIGHTS

47. Rațl. With Salamah.

Similar to CAM I, 166.

Dark green, $62 \times 45 \times 55$ (top and one side preserved) Stamp A: 35 Stamp B: 22 (B. 9440)

PLATE VI



48. Raţl.

Similar to no. 47, above, but small stamp not preserved.

Dark green, 48×35×32 (part of top and left side preserved)
Stamp: 33 (B. 9444)
PLATE VI

49. One-half rațl.

Dark green, 52×39×21 (top only preserved) (B. 9441) PLATE VI

Similar to *University College*, 181; A. Kmietowicz, "Dénéraux et poids musulmans en verre conservés dans les musées de Pologne," in *Folia Orientalia*, Kraków, 1959, p. 137, no. 3; and perhaps *Fouquet Collection*, 52–53.

K. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Governor, 159–161 A.H.: 775–778 A.D.

DISK-WEIGHT

50. Wuqiyah.

بسم الا[4 امر؟]	In the name of Allā[h: order of?]
الامير مح[مد بن]	the amīr Muḥa[mmad b.]
سليمن اك[رمه]	Sulaymān, may be gen[erous to him]
الله و[قية]	Allāh, $wu[q\bar{\imath}yah]$,
واف	full weight.

Dark green, 52, fragmentary, about ¼ lacking; thickness, 9; 24.30+ Stamp: 32 (B. 9474)

PLATE VI

Unpublished.

2*



L. Sālih b. Muslim

Prefect, ca. 171-180 (?) A.H.: 787-796 (?) A.D.

COIN WEIGHT

51. One-third dīnār.

Obverse, center:

على يدى

At the hands of

صلح

Sāliḥ

بن مسلم

b. Muslim

Circular legend within border of dots:

In the name of Allāh (?): weight of a third [dīnār, full weight (?)].

Reverse, center:

مسلم

Muslim

Circular legend: [ی]دی ص

.... hands of Ṣā.....

Pale greenish blue, 19, 1.43 (B. 9498)

PLATE VI

Unpublished.

M. Al-Ḥusayn b. al-Baḥbāḥ Governor, 193-194 A.H.: 808-810 A.D.

COIN WEIGHT

52. *Dīnār*.

Similar to CAM I, 189, but marginal legend mostly illegible. Pale bluish green, 29, 4.27 (B. 9487)

Cf. also EAG, 131, wrongly catalogued in the anonymous class; it should be assigned to this governor.



III. UNIDENTIFIED OFFICIALS

A. Name Effaced

COIN WEIGHT

53. One-half dīnār.

Obverse, center: 8-point star surrounded by 8 pellets, within linear circle.

بسم الله مثقال نصف دينر : Marginal legend

In the name of Allāh: weight of a half dīnār.

Reverse: traces of legend.

Pale purplish brown, 22, 2.14 (B. 9506)

PLATE VI

This is probably similar to Fouquet Collection, p. 377, no.9, where no mention is made of a legend on the reverse. It may possibly be an issue of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān: EAG, 95.

B. Qutaybah (?)

DISK-WEIGHT

54. Uncertain weight.

Stamp A (center):

۰.۶..

• • • • • •

21



Stamp B (below):

على يدى At the hands of تيبة(١) تتيبة(١)

Dark green, fragment 45 × 40; thickness, 20 Stamp A: 20+ Stamp B: 18 (B. 9473)

PLATE VII

The name is very probably the same as that on a vessel stamp, EAG_{s} 121.

 $C. \ldots b. al-Rah\bar{\imath}m (?)$

VESSEL STAMP

55. Qist.

Green, 28 (B. 9457)

PLATE VII

D. Uncertain Amīr

VESSEL STAMP

56. Uncertain measure.

Pale green, 20 (B. 9465)



IV. ANONYMOUS COIN WEIGHTS

A. Pious Phrase Only

57. One-third dīnār?

Retrograde:

Green, 14, 1.42 (no inventory number)

B. Standard Anonymous Weights

58-60. Fals of 25 kharrūbah.

Similar to CAM I, 221.

58. Green, 31, 5.18 (B. 9483)

59. Green, 30, 5.17 (B. 9482)

60 .Green, 31, 5.16 (B. 9478)

61. Fals of 24 kharrūbah.

Within a dotted square enclosed by a dotted circle (annulet outside the square at mid-point on each side):

Brownish green, 31, 4.76 (B. 9481)

PLATE VII

Similar to Launois 322–323 = Fahmy, 349–350.



62. Fals of 23 kharrūbah.

Within a linear square enclosed by a linear circle:

مثقال فلس

Weight of a fals

ثلثة وعشر

of three and twen-

ين خروبة

ty kharrūbah.

*** ~ ***

Very dark claret, 31, 4.53 (B. 9485)

PLATE VII

Unpublished. Cf. Fahmy, 353, without the square and the ornaments.

63. Fals of 23 kharrūbah.

Square imprint:

مثقال فاس

ثلثة وعشر

ين خروبة

Green, 29, 4.59 (B. 9496)

PLATE VII

Similar to Fahmy, 353.

64. Fals of 20 kharrūbah.

Similar to CAM I, 230.

Green, 29, 4.14 (B. 9495)

PLATE VII

V. ANONYMOUS DISK-WEIGHT

65. Uncertain weight.

بركة

Blessing

من الله

from Allāh:

[واف؟]

[full weight?].

Pale yellowish green, 24, 4.99 (B. 9492)

PLATE VII

Unpublished.



VI. ANONYMOUS RING-WEIGHTS

66-67. Great wuqīyah.

Similar to *CAM* I, 258–259. Inscription of no. 67 only partially preserved.

- 66. Silvery gray patina, basic color uncertain, 47×21×40; 64.30 (intact, but chipped and worn); stamp, 19 (B. 9471)
- 67. Silvery white patina, basic color uncertain, probably green, $40 \times 21 \times 38$; 59.70 (intact, slightly chipped); stamp, 19 (B. 9470)

68. One-quarter ratl?

Uninscribed. Exceptional shape, a simple ring with a pinched configuration on the outer surface at the "top".

Reddish brown with black streaks, $61 \times 32 \times 14$; 89.70 (intact) (B. 9472)

VII. ANONYMOUS AND UNIDENTIFIED VESSEL STAMPS

69. One-half of one-quarter gist.

.

ربع الة حا

Dark green, 31 (B. 9455)

PLATE VII

Similar to *EAG*, 176–178, and many others. *CAM* I, 266–267, transcribed تسط rather than التسط, probably also had the definite article but off the flan.

70. Measure of pure lupine (turmus nafīs).

مك[يلة] Mea[sure] of [t]urmus, pure.

Green, 23 (B. 9460)

PLATE VII

Unpublished. For turmus, lupine, see EAG Suppl., pp. 14-15.



71. Measure of white sesame-seed (juljulān abyad).

Similar to CAM I, 270.

Green, 26 (B. 9461)

PLATE VII

72. Measure of shelled lentils ('adas muqashshar).

[ء]دس مة[شر]

Green, 22 (B. 9464)

PLATE VII

Similar to Launois, 272, Fouquet Collection, 65-71. For the pharmaceutical uses of Lens esculenta, see EAG Suppl., pp. 45-46.

73. Measure of lentils (?).

• • • • • •

عدس(؟)

Green, 27×30, with large section of thin (2 mm.) wall of the measuring cup (B. 9450)

PLATE VII

Unpublished?

74. Measure of beans (fūl).

مكيلة

Measure

الفو ل

of al-fūl.

Green, 35 (B. 9454)

PLATE VII

Cf. Fouquet Collection, p. 366, no. 90, "lecture rendue douteuse par l'irisation du verre," but there can be no doubt of the reading here. This would be the common garden or broad bean, $Vicia\ faba\ L.^1$

75-76. Pious expression.

Full measure,

Ш

to Allāh.

75. Green, 28 (B. 9459)

76. Green, 24 (B. 9462)

PLATE VI

¹ Cf. Lane, p. 2463; Bedevian, no. 3590.



Similar to *EAG*, 187–188; and cf. *CAM* I, 277–280, with a crescent beneath the legend. In *CAM* I, p. 115, I suggested that the crescent was "off the piece" on *EAG*, 187, but I now believe it is lacking (i.e., not on the die), as here.

77. Illegible.

Three line inscription.

Green, 20 (B. 9463)

PLATE VII

VIII. PRIVATE WEIGHT

78. Ḥamzah b. al-Mughīrah.

جزة بن Ḥamzah b.
(۱۹) المنيرة (۱۹) al-Mughīrah (۱۹),
to Allāh.

Yellowish green, iridescent patina, 22, 2.81 (B. 9508)

My notes record المسرة for the father's name, but I suspect that I misread the name and that it is المنرة, as on two unpublished "private weights" which I have noted: one in the collection of Kemal Osman Ghalib in Cairo, and another in the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis. Both these read unmistakably عزة إن المنرة, and differ from the present piece (if my revised reading is correct) only in having above the name (rather than below) and a star beneath. The weights of these pieces are 3.65 and 5.79 grams respectively. Unfortunately I lack a photograph of the piece in the Benaki Museum. The epigraphy, it seems to me, is suggestive of the 2nd/8th century and I doubt therefore that the individual is to be identified with a person by this name mentioned by al-Kindi, pp. 199–200, 463–464.



THE PETER RUTHVEN COLLECTION

I. UMAYYAD OFFICIALS

A. Usāmah b. Zayd

Finance Director, 96–99 A.H.: 714–717 A.D. Interim Governor, 102 A.H.: 720–721 A.D.

VESSEL STAMP

I. One-half qist.

Similar to CAM I, 8-9.

Green, 39×37 (R. 640)

B. Ḥayyān b. Shurayḥ

Finance Director, ca. 99-101 A.H.: ca. 717-720 A.D.

COIN WEIGHT

2. One-half dīnār.

* امر حیان بن شریح میزن نصف واف

Pale blue-green, 23, 2.13 (R. 525)

PLATE VIII

Similar to Fahmy, 8, with in the text, but to judge by the plate the alif is not present.

28



RING-WEIGHT

3. Two rates of meat (lahm).

Stamp A (right):

امر حيان Order of Ḥayyān بن شريح ر b. Shurayḥ: ra-اللاعم tlayn of laḥm, full weight.

Stamp B (left):

Full الو

نا س weight to Allāh.

Green, fragmentary (top and part of one side only), $80 \times 59 \times 40 +$ Stamp A: 26 Stamp B: 14 (R. 1695)

Unpublished. Cf. Fouquet Collection, 47, a weight for a ratl of meat.

VESSEL STAMPS

4. Qist of figs (tīn).

Similar to CAM I, 12.

Green, 31 (R. 736)

PLATE VIII

5. One-quarter qist of olive oil (zayt).

امر حیان بن شریح ربم قسط لازیت واف

Green, 34 (R. 1742)

PLATE VIII

Similar to *University College*, 92, and Viré, 3. Despite the curious form of the next to the last letter in the third line (Petrie's curious reading is surely incorrect), I believe the words are *li'l-zayt*.



C. Bishr b. Şafwān

Governor, 101-102 A.H.: 720-721 A.D.

COIN WEIGHT

6. (Fals) of 2(4) $q\bar{\imath}r\bar{a}t$.

امر ا[لا]	Order of [the a-]
میر بشر	mīr Bishr:
وع شر[بن]	and twen[ty]
قير[ط]	$qar{\imath}rar{a}[t].$

Pale blue-green, 28, about $\frac{2}{5}$ lacking, 2.68+ (R. 876) PLATE VIII

Unpublished. It is a great pity that this weight is fragmentary, for it is unique in several respects. There can be little doubt about the correctness of the reading and the identification of Bishr with Bishr b. Ṣafwān, the fine, clear epigraphy being characteristic of the date. The missing digit in the denomination is probably "four"; the frequency peak of weights of 24 qīrāṭ is 4.64 grams, and the weight of this piece, if it were intact, would probably be in this neighbourhood. Weights in qīrāṭs of two officials earlier than Bishr are known: a piece of 26 qīrāṭ of Qurrah b. Sharīk,¹ and one of 14 qīrāṭ of Usāmah b. Zayd.²

This is the first known metrological object of Bishr b. Ṣafwān. He entered into office as Governor of Egypt ('alâ'l-ṣalāt) on 17 Ramaḍān 101 (1 April 720) and was relieved in Shawwāl 102 (April 721).3



¹ Unpublished, in the Cabinet des Médailles.

² E.g., *CAM* I, 6.

³ Al-Kindi, pp. 69–72; cf. al-Maqrīzī, al-Khiṭaṭ V¹ (ed. Gaston Wiet Mémoires, Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Vol. 53, Cairo 1927), pp. 87–88; F. Wüstenfeld, Die Statthalter, I, p. 42; Grohmann Corpus III, I², p. 94.

D. 'Ubaydullāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb Finance Director, 102-106 A.H.: 720-734 A.D.

RING-WEIGHT

7. One-quarter rați of grapes ('inab).

[مما؟] امر	[Among those things] ordered
[به؟] عبيد الله	[by] 'Ubaydullāh
[بن] الحبحاب ر	[b.] al-Ḥabḥāb, quar-
[بع ر] طل عنب	[ter ra] tl of 'inab,
تى تى . [و] اف	[full] weight.

Green, fragment of top only (approximately $\frac{3}{4}$ of surface preserved), 46; thickness, 13+ (broken at top); 20.40+ (R. 976) PLATE VIII

Unpublished. This is the first occurrence, so far as I know, of 'inab, grapes, on a glass object. Another reading 'ubab (Physalis alkekengi) is of course possible, but especially in view of the weight indicated, the reading suggested here is perhaps more likely.¹

VESSEL STAMPS

8. One-quarter gist.

Similar to *CAM* I, 38-41, *EAG*, 20, etc., etc. Green, 33 (R. 1071)

9. One-quarter qist of olive oil.

Similar to CAM I, 42-43, EAG, 21, EAG Suppl., 4, etc., etc. The disposition of the alif of Allāh and the final $b\bar{a}$ of al-Ḥabḥāb varies in the transcriptions. Here it must have been at the beginning of the fourth line.

PLATE VIII

¹ Viré (p. 24) reads 'ubab on an unpublished stamp in the Louvre. For 'ubab, in addition to the passage in Ibn al-Bayṭār cited by Viré, see Lane I, p. 1931.



10. One-quarter qist. With Junadhah b. Maysarah. Dated 111 A.H.: 729/30 A.D.

Green, fragmentary, 42 (R. 683)

Similar to EAG, 19, BM, 392. The name of the prefect was finally read on CAM I, 37 (a half-qist); the reading Khurrah in the transcription of EAG, 19, should be corrected.

11. Measure of fruit of the gingerbread tree (dawm).

بسم الله	In the name of Allāh:
امر عبيدا	order of 'Ubaydu-
لله بن الحبحاب	llāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb,
مكيلة الد	measure of al-da-
۔ وم وا	wm, full
فة	measure.

Green, 37×34 (R. 724)

PLATE VIII

Unpublished. An unpublished anonymous stamp for the same fruit was seen by the writer in the collection of the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo in 1953.

Dawm (or dūm) is the fruit of Hyphaene thebaica, the doum (or doom) palm, or gingerbread tree, a large African fan palm characteristic of Upper Egypt, Nubia, Sudan and the southern Sahara, but also found as far north as the oasis Siwa and the Sinai Peninsula. The fruit contains a fibroup pulp of the flavor of gingerbread. The supposed resingum of the doum palm was formerly used as a diuretic and



diaphoretic medicine, and the nuts are sold today in Egyptian drug bazaars.¹

It is interesting to note that this fruit was sometimes confused with *nabq* or jujube, for which there also exist glass measure stamps (see *CAM* I, 63–64, where the medicinal properties are described).

12. Half(?) measure of lupine (turmus)?

```
امر عبيد المر عبيد Order of 'Ubayd- الله بن الجبحا ullāh b. al-Ḥabḥā- الله بن الحبة الله بن الحبة الله بن الحبة الله بن الحبة الله b: measure of a- (التر؟] مس بنصف(؟), one-half (?), ... full measure.

Green, 32 (R. 398) PLATE VIII
```

This imperfectly deciphered stamp is similar to an unpublished one in the Llewllyn-Phillips collection in the British Museum and is probably the same as *Fouquet Collection*, 122. The proposed reading of the fourth line is offered without much confidence.

E. Al-Qāsim b. 'Ubaydullāh Finance Director, 116-124 A.H.: 734-742 A.D.

COIN WEIGHT

13. One-third dīnār. With Dā'ūd b. Nimr. (Dated 123? A.H.: 740/1? A.D.).

Pale green, 20, 1.41 (R. 874)

PLATE VIII

Al-Ghāfiqi, I, fasc. III, pp. 493-496, with full commentary; cf. Lane I, p. 937; Bedevian, no. 1894; Muschler, p. 189.



3

Unpublished. Other issues of this prefect are known, although the name has usually been misread or undeciphered: Fahmy (52 = Launois, 94; where Nimr is taken to be 'Umar') read the name correctly on a dirhem weight dated 123 A.H. (with probably the same error in the spelling of the word mithqāl), and cn a similar piece in the University College collection (117) Petrie did not attempt to decipher the father's name; a cne-half qist, also dated 123 (Launois, 85, read $D\bar{a}'\bar{u}d$ b. 'Umar); a rath of meat, also dated 123 (EAG, 34, Nimr misread Ja'far (?)); a one-half ratl of meat, probably dated 123 (EAG Suppl., no. 9, name read b. Ayman (?)); a measure of black lentils (EAG, 38, father's)name effaced); a measure of field cress (no. 15, below); also, unrublished, a measure of woad dated 123 in the Ray W. Smith collection, and an uncertain weight or stamp, also dated 123, in the Harold W. Glidden collection.

One reason for the difficulty in reading the name of the father is the descending tail of the final $y\bar{a}$ of yaday in the line above, well illustrated in the present example. Also an alif very distinctly precedes Nimr on no. 15, below.

Unfortunately I have not been able to identify Dā'ūd b. Nimr.

VESSEL STAMP

14. Measure of black cumin (al-kammūn). With Muslim b. al-'Arrāf. Dated 11(8?) A.H.: 736(?) A.D.

يسم الله أمر
[۱] لله بالوفا وامر
بصنعة مكبلة الكمون
اسود القاسم بن
عبید الله علی یدی مسلم
بن العراف سنة أعان (؟)
عثرة ومئة

In the name of Allāh: ordered [A]llāh full measure; and ordered the making of a measure of al-kammūn aswad, al-Qāsim b.

'Ubaydullāh, at the hands of Muslim b. al-'Arrāf, year eight(?)-teen and one hundred.

Brownish green, 46 (fragment lacking at bottom) (R. 682) PLATE VIII



Unpublished. The various sorts of cumin are discussed in *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 15-17. For the curious name of the prefect, see *CAM* I, p. 19, and *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 11-12. The date on the present specimen is very obscure, but 118 is quite possible, because we have other weights and stamps bearing the name of this prefect dated 117(?), 119 (quite common) and 121.

15. Measure of field cress (al-sināb). With Dā'ūd b. Nimr. Dated 123 A.H.: 740/1 A.D.

بسم الله ا [مرا] لله بالوفا وا [مر] بصنعة مكيلة ا لصناب القاسم بن عبيد الله على يدى د[1] ود بن انمر (sic) سنه [ث]لث و عشرين

In the name of Allāh: or[dered A]llāh full measure, and or[dered] the making of a measure of *a-l-ṣināb*, al-Qāsim b.
'Ubaydullāh, at the hands of D[ā]'ūd b. a-Nimr (*sic*), year
[th]ree and twenty
and one hundred.

Green, 40 (R. 639)

PLATE VIII

Unpublished. The name of the prefect, Dā'ūd b. Nimr, has been discussed above under no. 13. Here there can be no doubt whatever about the presence of ι before ς . One can only guess at the explanation. Did the die-engraver intend to write al-Nimr and forget the $l\bar{a}m$? Or was an apprentice copying from one of the other weights or stamps on which the final $y\bar{a}$ on the line above appears to be an alif before the name?

The reading $\sin \bar{a}b$ appears to be correct but is offered not without reservations. It happens that there is a measure stamp probably for $\sin b$, tamarind, issued by al-Qāsim b. Ubaydullāh and Yazīd b. abi-Yazīd. Subbār is well docu-

2 Unpublished, in the collection of Harold W. Glidden. Cf. EGPM, p. 386.



¹ This could also be read *şinnār*, *Platanus orientalis*, whose fruit had medicinal properties (Ibn al-Bayṭār, Vol. 25¹, pp. 90 and 385).

mented as a pharmaceutical in both mediaeval and modern times. However, the final letter of the word on this stamp looks distinctly like $r\bar{a}$, whereas on the present piece it appears to be the second, third or fourth letter of the alphabet. Sināb is defined by Lane¹ as "a sauce made of mustard and raisins," but according to the botanists sināb barri is Lepidium campestre, field cress, wild bastard cress or pepperwort.2 Pepperwort is defined as pepper grass, or any cress of the genus Lepidium, bearing round flattened pods "of pungent flavor." Dioscorides (II, 205, Gunther, p. 216) says that the leaves of Lepidion (Lepidium latifolium) are useful for siatica and leprosy, and, to quote the old English translation, "the root hanged about ye neck takes away paines of ye teeth." However, I do not find sināb in Ibn al-Baytar or Lepidium campestre (etc.) in the modern works on medicinal herbs, and I am therefore in some slight doubt as to the correctness of my reading of the stamp.

F. Yazīd b. abi-Yazīd

Prefect, ca. 116-127 A.H.: ca. 734-745 A.D. Finance Director (?), ca. 127 A.H.: 745 A.D.

VESSEL STAMPS

16. One-half qist of olive oil.

Similar to CAM I, no. 70.

Green, 35 (R. 1743)

¹ I, p. 1730. More probably "mustard and oil" (زيت misread for زيت), as my friend Dr. Glidden points out, referring to the *Munjid*.



² Bedevian, no. 2073. Lepidium L. is a large genus of nearly 120 species, the Egyptian species being highly variable and difficult of discrimination (Muschler, p. 425). Lepidium sativum L. is equated by Schweinfurth (p. 28) with habb rashad.

17. Executive stamp.

Similar to CAM I, 74-75.

Green, 27 (R. 419)

G. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān

Finance Director, 131-132 A.H.: 749 A.D. Governor, 132-133 A.H.: 750 A.D.

VESSEL STAMP

18. Measure of privet or box (al-katam).

بسم الله امر	In the name of Allāh: ordered
الله بالوفا و امر	Allāh full measure, and ordered
الامير عبد الملك	the amīr 'Abd al-Malik
[بن] مرون بصنعة	[b.] Marwān the making of
مكيلة الكتم	a measure of al-katam,
وافية	full measure.

Green, 43 (R. 1404)

PLATE IX

Unpublished. There is a similar unpublished specimen in the Llewellyn-Phillips collection in the British Museum. *Katam* also appears on two unpublished stamps in the collection of Ray W. Smith: one of Ḥayyān b. Shurayḥ and Yazīd II, and the other anonymous.

Katam is perhaps Buxus dioica, privet. According to the Arab pharmacologists, the ground-up dried leaves of katam were mixed with henna as a hair die. Taken internally the substance promoted violent vomiting and was employed as an emetic in cases of bite by rabid dogs. A decoction of the root was used in the preparation of ink. On the other hand I suspect a confusion in identification with baqs, or box (Buxus sempervirens), for which also there may exist

■ Ibn al-Bayṭār, Vol. 26¹, pp. 144–145, no. 1886.



¹ Dozy, Supplément, II, p. 444 (French troëne); Ahmed Issa, p. 34.

measure stamps.¹ The Dispensatory² states that various parts of the Buxus sempervirens were used in the "days of therapeutic superstition" for rheumatism, malarial fevers, epilepsy and syphilis. In some countries the wood has been considered diaphoretic. In full doses it is narcotic and sedative, and in over-doses, emetico-cathartic and convulsant. The leaves have sudorific and cathartic properties. Various perfumes and extracts were formerly made from the leaves and bark.³

¹ See, for example, Fouquet Collection, 93, read as naqsh. This is doubtless the same substance as CAM I, 85, 117-119, 273, which I read, I now believe erroneously, as mishsh.

² P. 1608.

³ Grieve, I, pp. 121-122.

II. 'ABBĀSID OFFICIALS

A. 'Asim b. Hafs

Prefect, ca. 133-141 A.H.: 751-758 A.D. ca. 165-169 A.H.: 781-786 A.D.

COIN WEIGHT

19. Fals of 30 kharrūbah.

Similar to CAM I, 107.

Yellowish green, 31, 5.84 (R. 894)

VESSEL STAMP

20. Executive stamp.

على يدى

At the hands of

عاصم

'Aşım

[بن] حفص

[b.] Hafş.

Green, 21 (R. 691)

PLATE IX

This stamp is probably similar to Fouquet Collection, 188–189, neither of which is illustrated.

B. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath
Governor, 141-143 A.H.: 759-760 A.D.

VESSEL STAMP

21. Measure of white sesame seed (juljulān abyad). With 'Abdullāh b. Rāshid.

Similar to *CAM* I, no. 134, which is poorly preserved.

Green, 41 (R. 1694)

PLATE IX



C. Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah
Governor, 143-144 A.H.: 760-762 A.D.

COIN WEIGHT

22. One-third dīnār. With Muḥammad b. Shuraḥbīl. Artisan: Kāmil.

Obverse:

بسم الله امر الامير حميد بن قحطبة مثقا ل ثلث دينر و اف

Reverse center:

مبنعة

كامل

Traces of marginal legend.

Green, 20, 1.41 (R. 1753)

PLATE IX

Similar to Fahmy, 140 (= Launois, 187). The name of the prefect is illegible on the present specimen but is preserved in part on the Cairo Museum piece and on a half-dīnār weight in that collection (Fahmy, 139). Some details of Ḥumayd's career are given in Fahmy, pp. 109-110. Al-Kindi (pp. 110-111) is specific about the dates of his office: 5 Ramaḍān 143 to 23 Dhu'l-Qa'dah 144.¹



D. Salamah

Prefect or Finance Director, sometime ca. 144-157 A.H.: ca. 762-774 A.D.

COIN WEIGHTS

23. (Fals) of 26 (kharrūbah).

Similar to *CAM* I, 150, where other references are given. Fahmy describes three specimens (199–201), one of which must be Launois, 381.

Green, 30, 5.03 (R. 502)

For the Coptic figures, see *CAM* I, pp. 42, 59. Salamah's dates are discussed in *CAM* I, pp. 57–58 (cf. Fahmy, pp. 137–138, who repeats the attribution proposed in *EAG*, pp. 127–128).

24. Fals of 24 kharrūbah.

Similar to *CAM* I, 151–152, where other references are given.

Green, 28×29, 4.63 (R. 1617)

DISK-WEIGHT

25. One-half wuqiyah.

Square imprint:

على يدى [Salamah ?]: [أسلمة؟] [half ?].

Pale amber, splash of cobalt, 30; thickness, 11; stamp, 14; 14.63 (R. 743)

Unpublished.

¹ These dates differ slightly from those given in Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter*, II, pp. 6–7.



E. 'Umar b. Yahyâ

Prefect or Finance Director, sometime ca. 152-157 (?) A.H.: ca. 769-774 (?) A.D.

VESSEL STAMP

26. Executive stamp.

Similar to CAM I, 161.

Green, 27 (R. 1465)

For the approximate dates of 'Umar b. Yaḥyâ, see CAM I, p. 62.

F. Muhammad b. Sa'īd

Governor, 152-157 (?) A.H.: 769-774 (?) A.D.

COIN WEIGHTS

27. Dīnār. With Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib. Artisan: Souerous.

Obverse:

بسم الله

امر الامبر

محمد بن سعيد

مثقال دينر

Reverse (within linear circle):

سنعة

سو پرس

Margin (within linear circle):

بسم الله على يدى [سع]يد بن المسي

Green, 28, 3.95 (reverse chipped) (R. 409)

PLATE IX

Similar to BM, 19, *University College*, 185, and probably Fahmy, 155. See also a half-dīnār, CAM I, 163. For Souerous (Severos), see *CAM* I, pp. 63-64.



G. The Caliph al-Mahdi 158-169 A.H.: 775-785 A.D.

COIN WEIGHT

28. Half-dīnār.

Obverse:

Reverse: legends effaced.

Pale green, 22, 2.11 (R. 826)

Because of the illegibility of the reverse no specific reference can be given for this half- $d\bar{\imath}n\bar{a}r$ weight. My files record 17 half- $d\bar{\imath}n\bar{a}r$ s of al-Mahdi with the names of 'Āṣim b. Ḥafṣ, Ibrāhīm b. Ṣāliḥ, Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm, Maṭar, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, al-Muhājir, Wāḍiḥ, and b. Ziyād (?).

DISK-WEIGHT

29. Fraction of wuqīyah?.

Circular imprint:

Small segments of two other circular imprints are preserved.

Green, fragmentary, $37+\times27+$; thickness, 9; 8.47+; imprint, 15 (R. 831)

Unpublished. This is, I believe, the first recorded disk-weight of al-Mahdi.



H. Mațar.

Governor, 157-159 A.H.: 773-776 A.D.

DISK-WEIGHTS

30. Wuqiyah.

:٠٠٠٠٠ مطر.... المؤم....

الله وقبة...

This is probably to be reconstructed as follows:

بسم الله امر In the name of Allāh: order of

مطر مولى امير Maṭar, mawlâ of the Commander

of the Faithful, may be generous to him

الله وقة وان Allāh, wuqīyah, full weight.

Green, fragmentary, about ½, 52; thickness, 9; 16.67+ (R. 496)
PLATE IX

Unpublished. This is the first recorded disk-weight of Maṭar. For a ring-weight of his probably with the same legend (except raţl instead of wuqīyah), see EAG, 94.

31. Great wuqīyah.

A. Square imprint:

رية Wuqīyah,

کبیر great, [full weigh]t....ا

B. Fragment of rectangular imprint above A:

..... [Ma]ṭar (?).

Brownish green, fragmentary, $38+\times27+$; thickness, 13; 15.05+ Stamp A: $19\times12+$ Stamp B: $11+\times10+$ (R. 1642)

This may not be Maṭar's; the reconstruction is hypothetical. For other "great wuqīyahs," see EAG, 116 ('Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maysarah) and CAM I, 258-259 (anonymous).



I. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān (?)

Governor, 159-161 A.H.: 775-778 A.D.

COIN WEIGHT

32. One-third dīnār.

Obverse: In center, within linear circle, 8-point star.

بسم الله مثقال ثلث دينر : Margin

Reverse: Very faint traces of 3-line(?) legend, perhaps:

على يدى At the hands of

العبد Muḥammad

بن سليمن b. Sulaymān (?).

Very pale blue-green, 18, 1.42 (R. 822)

Probably similar to *EAG*, 95–96, with the reverse legend reconstructed, probably correctly.

J. Ibrāhīm b. Ṣāliḥ

Governor, 165–167, A.H.: 781–784 A.D. Finance Director, 174 A.H.: 790/1 A.D. Governor, 176 A.H.: 792 A.D.

RING-WEIGHTS

33. Great ratl. With 'Asim b. Hafs.

A. Square imprint, center:

رطل *Raṭl*, great,

full weight.

B. Square imprint, left:

Order of the a-

mīr Ibrā-

هيم hīm b Sāl

بن سالح b. Ṣāliḥ.

C. Square imprint, right:

على يدى At the hands of عاصم 'Aṣim b. Ḥafṣ.

Green, intact except for small chip at top right, 74×83×44; 492.6 Stamp A: 23×17+ Stamp B: 21×21 Stamp C: 21×21 (R. 728) PLATES IX & X

The existence of this remarkably well preserved ring-weight has been recorded by Richard Ettinghausen in connection with an Umayyad raţl weight in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery, II, 1939, p. 76, footnote 16). Other recorded heavy weights of Ibrāhīm b. Ṣāliḥ are: a great raţl (with stamps A and B, but not C), Fouquet Collection, p. 390, no. 44; raţls, University College, 207, and BM, 25G; one-quarter great raţl, University College, 208; uncertain weight, EAG, 105.

For 'Asim b. Hafs, see EAG, p. 107.

34. Great rațl. With Yazīd b. Ziyād.

- A. Identical with stamp A of no. 33, above.
- B. Identical with stamp B of no. 33, above, partially effaced by stamp A.
- C. Square imprint, right:

على يدى At the hands of Yazīd b. يزيد بن Ziyād.

Green, fragmentary, top and one side only, $70 \times 70 + \times 45$ Stamp A: 23×21 Stamp B: 22×17+ Stamp C: 21×17+ (R. 893) PLATE X

Unpublished. The name of Yazīd b. Ziyād appears on a disk-weight in the *Fouquet Collection*, p. 386, no. 16.



K. Al-Fadl b. Şālih

Governor and Finance Director, 168-169 A.H.: 785-786 A.D.

COIN WEIGHT

35. Dīnār. With 'Asim b. Ḥafs.

Obverse:

عما امر به الا

[مير] الفضل بن

[صالح] كرمه الله

[مثقال دينر] واني

Reverse: area effaced

[حف*س*] *

Margin:

ع[لي يدى عا] صم بن

Yellowish green, fragmentary (1/8 missing), 29, 2.58+ (R. 977)
PLATE X

The inscriptions have been completed by comparison with two identical specimens: BM, 26, and *University College*, 206. These are, so far as I know, the only preserved weights of al-Fadl b. Sāliḥ b. 'Ali al-'Abbāsi. He was appointed Governor and Finance Director of Egypt on 13 Dhu'l-Qa'dah 168, but did not actually assume his duties until the end of Muḥarram 169 (August 785). He was succeeded by 'Ali b. Sulaymān in Shawwāl 169 (April/May, 786).¹

¹ Grohmann, Corpus, III, I², p. 134; al-Kindi, pp. 128-131; cf. Wüstenfeld, Die Statthalter, II, pp. 14-15.



L. Sālih b. Muslim

Prefect, ca. 171-180 (?) A.H.: ca. 787-796 (?) A.D.

VESSEL STAMP

36. Executive stamp.

على يدى At the hands of Şāliḥ
b. Muslim.

Pale green, 16, fragment of rim (20 mm. long) (R. 1913)

No vessel stamp of Ṣāliḥ b. Muslim alone has hitherto been published, but a number of weights bear his name (cf. Fahmy, 224–228, Launois, 240–241, *University College*, 250), as well as weights and stamps in conjunction with Mūsâ b. Sābiq (cf. *CAM* I, 183–185).

M. Abu-Ja^cfar Ashinās (?) Viceroy, 219–230 A.H.: 834–844 A.D.

DISK-WEIGHT

37. Great wuqīyah.

A. Circular imprint:

وقية Wuqīyah, great, [full] weight.

B. Rectangular imprint:

Among those things ordered by the a-.....شناس.... shinās (?),

Green, fragmentary, 42×33+; thickness, 9; 13.24+ Stamp A: 19 Stamp B: 24+×15+ (R. 1417)

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PLATE X

Unpublished. The corpus of Ashinās' glass weights and measures consists of: a disk-weight (BM, 27G), a ring-weight (EAG, 110), an unpublished ring-weight with the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim, another ring-weight (see below), a vessel stamp (Launois, Cabinet des Médailles, 13), and (perhaps) with Mūsâ b. abi-'l-'Abbās, another vessel stamp (EAG Suppl., 30).

RING-WEIGHT

38. One-third rațl (?). Dated 230 A.H.: 844/6 A.D.

```
اشنا؟] ..... [Ashinā-(?)]

s, the making of it, at the hands of

Muḥammad b. [Bisṭām (?)],

the weight of a third,

year thirty and two hundred.
```

Pale green, fragmentary, top and part of sides, $74 \times 40 + \times 43$; 169.94+ Stamp: $47 \times 44 + (R. 1456?)$ PLATE XI

The name of the father of the prefect Muḥammad is unfortunately very uncertain. It is quite illegible here and the reconstruction is based almost entirely on two other weights of Ashinās', on both of which the name is very dubious: BM, 27G, where Lane-Poole read Bisṭām with a query, and EAG, 110, where I think ... can be read. As for the reconstruction of the name of Ashinās, I believe this can be considered secure, although only the letter sīn is preserved. The weight, a "third" (or "three"?) is enigmatic. We do not know how much of the piece is missing. If it had the usual shape it would probably have weighed a good deal more than a third of most pounds, and too little for three pounds; and far too much for three ounces.





N. Yazīd b. 'Abdullāh Governor, 242-253 A.H.: 856-867 A.D.

RING-WEIGHT

39. [Raţl?].

Similar to CAM I, 197, but with the last two lines not obliterated on the die as they had been on that and other specimens referred to in CAM I, pp. 83-84.

Green, fragmentary, part of top and one side only, finger-nail prints at sides of stamp; 42+×33+×54; 139.10+; stamp: 27×27 (R. 854)

PLATE X

I have not succeeded in deciphering the last two lines, except for the final word, which appears to be المخرين, which suggests Qur'ān XXVI, 181 (cf. EAG, pp. 98–99, etc.) and would confirm Jungfleisch's remarks (Bull. Inst. d'Égypte, XXX, 1947–8, p. 3, footnote 1, and CAM I, p. 84) about "la malédiction contre les prévaricateurs."



III. UNIDENTIFIED OFFICIALS

A. Mu'āwiyah b. Rāshid

COIN WEIGHT

40. Fals.

امر معوية

Order of Mu'āwiyah

بن راشد مثقا

b. Rāshid, weigh-

ا (sic) فلس واف

t of a fals, full weight.

Pale blue-green, 31, 5.75 (R. 1315)

PLATE X

Unpublished. The style of epigraphy is Umayyad or early 'Abbāsid. The weight would correspond to that of 30 kharrūbah.

B. Al-Mufaḍḍal b. Sulaymān

DISK-WEIGHT

- 41. Great [wuqīyah].
 - A. Circular imprint, at bottom:

علی یدی

At the hands of

المفضل

al-Mufaddal

بن سليمن

b. Sulaymān.

- B. Circular imprint, at right: same as A (fragmentary).
- C. Circular imprint, center:

کب[یر]

grea[t],

واف

full weight.

51



D. Circular imprint, at left: chipped, fragmentary, effaced.

Green, fragment, 50×33+; thickness, 11; 18.96+ Stamp A: 18 Stamp B: (18) Stamp C: 10+ Stamp D: ? (R. 1603) PLATE XI

Unpublished.

42. Coin weight.

Pale blue-green, 32 (fragment lacking), 7.10+ (R. 501) PLATE XI

This curious piece is comparable to one of Idrīs and Mūsâ, sons of (?) Mahdi, published in CAM I, 203; and is apparently identical with the Llewellyn-Phillips piece cited there, and with University College, 249. Although the resemblance of these pieces to certain Byzantine-Arab lead bullae may be fortuitous, the similarity is sufficiently striking to merit attention. See, for example, one with the legend "Ḥasan and Salāma the sons of Sa'īd," recently illustrated in The British Museum Quarterly.¹

¹ Vol. XXV, 1962, p. 17, pl. IV: G. Bonner, G. M. Meredith-Owens and J. Walker, "A Byzantino-Arabic bulla." Other examples are cited there. The authors date the epigraphy no earlier than the 13th c., but it is my impression that it might be as early as the 10th.



IV. ANONYMOUS WEIGHTS

43. Fals of 25 kharrūbah.

Similar to CAM I, 221; EAG, 134-137; EAG Suppl., 38.

Green, 30, 5.14 (R. 1316)

PLATE XI

44. Uncertain weight. Pious expression?

Pale green, 30, irregular thickness, 6.97 (R. 605)

Possibly a pious expression. The piece is anomalous.

45. One-half dīnār. Barbarous legend.

Brownish green, 20, 2.12 (R. 459)

See no. 46, below, for an illustration of the same "legend."

46. One-third dīnār. Barbarous legend.

Pale green, 18, 1.39 (R. 450)

PLATE XI

47. Great wuqīyah.

Similar to *CAM* I, 258–259.

Green, 48×41×20, chipped, fragments lacking, 59.44+; Stamp: 18 (R. 1463) PLATE XI



V. ANONYMOUS VESSEL STAMPS

48. One-half of one-quarter qist.

Similar to EAG, 176–178, and CAM I, 266–267. The latter appear to lack the definite article, but perhaps U was present on the die but off the flan.

Bluish green, 29, fragment of rim (R. 1464)

49. Measure of shelled pomegranate (jullanār muqashshar).

Green, 22, fragment of rim (R. 493)

Similar to Launois, 305, University College, 223, and Fouquet Collection, 72, 72 bis, variously read and interpreted. For dessicated pomegranate, جلنار محشوش, see CAM I, 269, and for the uses of pomegranate cf. CAM I, pp. 110–112.

50. Pious exhortation.

الوفا لله Full measure to Allāh; and do not diminish الكال the measures.

Green, 30 (R. 1416)

PLATE XI

This is an adaptation of the Qur'ānic injunction against giving short weights and measures (Qur'ān, XI, 85–86; XXVI, 181–183). The stamp is probably the same as that on EAG, 129, a disk-weight bearing two stamps, one being that of an official whose name is only partly preserved. On that piece I reconstructed the last line as الكارة as here.



51. Pious exhortation.

Similar to no. 50, but legend fragmentarily preserved.

Pale blue-green, 18 (R. 494)

52. Pious expression.

الوفا

Ш

Green, 20 (R. 495)

Similar to EAG, 187-188 and many others.

VI. UNIDENTIFIED WEIGHTS

COIN WEIGHT

53. Uncertain official. Dīnār.

بن . . .ا. . . مثقال (؟) . . . ينر واف

Green, 29, irregular shape and thickness, 4.25 (R. 515)

DISK-WEIGHTS

54. [Two wuqīyah].

Traces of 3-line legend in square imprint.

Very pale green with 5 cobalt splashes, flattened sphere, 43; thickness, 20; imprint, 17; 58.92 (intact, but slightly pitted) (R. 340)

PLATE XI



55. Wuqiyah.

بسم الا[4]	In the name of Alla[h]:
امر ألا [مير]	order of the a[mīr]
محمد	Muḥammad
وقبة	$wuqar{\imath} yah \ldots \ldots$

Green, fragment (about $\frac{1}{2}$), 52, 16.17+ (R. 975)

56. Wuqiyah.

تما امر به الا	Among those things ordered by the a-
والحو	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
• • • • • •	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •

Green, fragment (about $\frac{2}{3}$), 45; thickness, 12; circular stamp, 23; 19.28+. Five preserved finger-nail prints around top periphery (R. 1418)

57. Wuqiyah.

Traces of 5(?)-line legend in circular imprint.

Bluish green, 43, chip lacking; thickness, 12; stamp, 20; 30.18+(R. 742)

58. One-half wuqīyah.

Traces of 3-line legend in square imprint.

Bluish green, 31; thickness, 10; stamp, 15; 14.83 (intact) (R. 1627)

59. One-fifth (?) wuqiyah.

Traces of 3-line legend in square imprint.

Pale amber, 24; thickness, 6; stamp, 14; 5.89 (intact but worn) (R. 475)

RING-WEIGHTS

60-62. Three heavily oxidized and worn ring-weights with iridescent patina; no traces of legends, and of no metrological value.

(R. 336, 424, 721)



PLATE XI

VII. UNIDENTIFIED VESSEL STAMPS

```
63. Nimr ?

...ام اللهم اعد ...

O Gcd .....

(۱) بصنه (۱) بصنه (۱) بصنه (۱) بصنه (۱) بصنه ...

Brownish yellow, 40 (R. 737)
```

The epigraphy is large and crude, and the piece is altogether anomalous.

```
64. One-half qist (?).
.....
(۶) نصف (۶).
....ط و
```

Green, 44×36 (R. 1061)

The legend is largely obliterated by swirls.

66–70. Illegible.

Five obliterated or illegible green vessel stamps, ranging in diameter from 18 to 38 mm.



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INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān 9, 37 'Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd 10, 11 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maysarah 44 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd 10, 15 'Abdullāh b. Rāshid 14, 39 Ali b. Sulaymān 47 Ashinās, abu-Ja'far 48-9 'Āṣim b. Ḥafṣ 11, 39, 43, 45-7

Bishr b. Şafwan 30

Dā'ūd b. Nimr 33-5 Dā'ūd b. 'Umar 34

al-Fadl b. Şālih 47

Ḥafş b. al-Walid 5-6 Ḥamzah b. al-Mughirah 27 Ḥasan b. Sa'id 52 Ḥayyān b. Shurayḥ 2, 28-9, 37 Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah 40 al-Ḥusayn b. al-Baḥbāḥ 20

Ibrāhīm b. Ṣāliḥ 43, 45-6 Idrīs b. Mahdi 52 'Īsâ b. abi-'Aṭā 7-8 'Īsâ b. Yaḥyâ 52 Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm 43

Jumādhah b. Maysarah 32

Kāmil 40

al-Mahdi (Caliph) 43 al-Manṣūr (Caliph) 12-3 Maṭar 43-4 Muʻāwiyah b. Rāshid 51 al-Mufaḍḍal b. Sulaymān 51 al-Muhājir 43 Muḥammad b. al-Ashʻath 14, 39 Muḥammad b. Bistām 49
Muḥammad b. Sa'id 17-9, 42
Muḥammad b. Shuraḥbīl 10-1, 16, 40
Muḥammad b. Sulaymān 19, 21, 43, 45
Muḥammad 56
Mūsâ b. abi'l-'Abbās 49
Mūsâ b. Mahdi 52
Mūsâ b. Sābiq 48
Muslim b. al-'Arrāf 4-5, 34
al-Mu'taṣim (Caliph) 49

Nimr 34-5, 57

al-Qāsim b. Ubaydullāh 4-5, 33-5 Qurrah b. Sharīk 30 Qutaybah 21-2

Şaffar b. Shabbah 5 Sa'id b. al-Musayyib 42 Salamah 16-9, 41 Salamah b. Sa'id 52 Şāliḥ b. Muslim 20, 48 Souerous 42

'Ubaydullāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb 3, 31-3 'Umar b. Yaḥyâ 17-8, 42 Usāmah b. Zayd 1-2, 13, 28, 30

Wāḍiḥ 43

Yazīd II (Caliph) 37 Yazīd b. 'Abdullāh 50 Yazīd b. abi-Yazīd 7-8, 35-7 Yazīd b. Hātim 15-6 Yazīd b. Żiyād 46

.... b. Ayman 34 b. al-Raḥīm 22 b. Ziyād 43



INDEX OF WORDS, DENOMINATIONS, ETC.

```
'adas 2
                                         ḥinnā mard 13
'adas (al)-muqashshar 26
                                        Hyphaene thebaica 32
amīr 6, 14, 16-9, 22, 30, 37, 40, 42, 45,
                                         'inab 31
  47, 56
                                        jujube 33
baqs 37
                                        juljulān abyad 26, 39
beans 26
                                        jullanār (al)-muqashshar 12, 54
box 37
Buxus dioica 37
                                        al-kammūn aswad 34
Buxus sempervirens 37-8
                                        al-katam 37
                                        kharrūbah, 18 3
chick-peas 3
                                                    20 24
chick-peas, dessicated 2
                                                    23 24
chick-peas, white 14
                                                    24 3, 10, 23, 41
ckickling vetch 13
                                                    25 23, 53
Cicer arietinum 14
                                                    26 17, 41
cress, field 35-6
                                                    30 4, 16, 39
cress, wild bastard 36
                                                    32 17
cumin 35
                                         Kupros 14
cumin, black 34
                                         laḥm 7, 29
dawm 32
                                        lawsone 14
dīnār 1, 20, 42, 47, 55
                                        Lawsonia alba 14
  \frac{1}{2} d\bar{i}n\bar{a}r 1, 4, 7, 21, 28, 43, 53
                                        Lawsonia inermis 14
  \frac{1}{3} d\bar{i}n\bar{a}r 3, 4–8, 17, 20, 23, 33, 40, 45,
                                        Lens esculenta 26
                                        lentils 2, 26
doum palm 32
                                        lentils, shelled 26
dūm 32
                                         Lepidion 36
                                         Lepidium 36
executive stamps 16, 37, 39, 42, 48
                                         Lepidium campestre 36
fals 1, 3, 4, 10, 23-4, 30, 39, 41, 51, 53 Lepidium latifolium 36
                                         Lepidium sativum 36
figs 29
fūl 26
                                         lupine 12, 33
                                         lupine, pure 25
gingerbread tree 32
                                         mard 13
grapes 31
                                         mawlâ 44
habb rashād 36
                                         measure 2-3, 12-4, 22, 26, 32-5, 37, 39.
henna 13-4, 37
                                           54
henna, pulverized 13-4
                                         meat 7, 29
himmas 3
                                        mishsh 38
himmaş al-abyad 14
himmaş mahshūsh 2
                                        nabq 33
```

60



```
olive oil, 7, 29, 31, 36
                                               \frac{1}{3} ratl 49
                                               1/4 ratl 25, 31
 pepper grass 36
                                            sesame-seed, white 26, 39
pepperwort 36
                                            al-sināb 35-6
 Physalis alkekengi 31
                                            şināb barri 36
 Platanus orientalis 35
pomegranate, shelled 12-3, 54
                                            şinnār 35
                                            şubbār 35
privet 37
                                            tamarind 35
qarārīţ 1
                                            tīn 29
qīrāţ, 10 1-2
                                            turmus 12, 33
       14 30
                                            turmus nafīs 25
       24 30
       26 30
                                            'ubab 31
qist 7, 9, 22, 29, 57
                                            Vicia faba 26
   \frac{1}{2} qist 5, 12, 28, 36, 57
   1/4 qist 5, 7, 11, 29, 31-2
                                            wuqiyah 9, 18-9, 44, 56
   1/2 of 1/4 qist 25, 54
                                              2 wuqiyah 55
                                              great wuqiyah 11, 25, 44, 48, 51, 53
ratl 6, 11, 18-9, 46, 50
                                              1/2 wuqiyah 41, 56
   2 ratl 29
                                              <sup>1</sup>/<sub>5</sub> wuqiyah 56
   great rail 45-6
                                              1/6 wuqiyah 10, 15
  1/2 great ratl 8
                                              wuqiyah, fraction 43
  1/4 great ratl 46
  1/2 rațl 15, 19
                                           zayt 7, 29
```

ARABIC INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

عمر بن يحيى 18, 42 عيسى بن ابى عطا 8-7 عیسی بن یحیی 52

ابرهيم بن صالح 6-45 اسامة بن زيد 28 ـ 1-2 ائناس 9-48

الفضل بن صالح 47

بشر بن صغوان 30

القاسم بن عبيد الله 5-33, 3-4 عبة 22 جناذة بن ميسرة 32

كامل 10, 40

الحسين بن البحباح 20 حفس بن الوليد 6 حزة بن المفيرة 27 حيد بن قحطية 40 حان بن شريح 9-28, 2

عمد بن الاشعث 14, 39 محمد بن بسطام 49 عمد بن سعيد 42, 9-17 محمد بن سايمن 19,45

داود بن عمر 35 ،33

محمد 56 مسلم بن العراف 34 .5-4 مطر 44 معوية بن راشد 51 المفضل بن سليمن 51

سعبد بن المسيب 42 سو يرس 42 ىلىة 16-9, 41

نمر 35، 37

المهدى 43

مفار بن شبة 5 صلح بن مسلم 48, 20

يزيد بن ابي يزيد 7-8, 36-7 يزيد بن حاتم 6–15 يزيد بن زياد 46 يزيد بن عبد الله 50 عاصم بن حفص 7-11, 39, 46 العاف 4 عبد الله 3-12

عبد الله بن راشد 14, 39 عبد الرحمن بن يزيد 15 عبد الملك بن مرون 37 .9

.... الرحيم 22

عبد الملك بن يزيد ١٥-١٥ عيد الله بن الحبحاب 3, 31-3

62

ARABIC INDEX OF WORDS AND PHRASES

الراس 13	ابني 52
ربم 25, 29, 31-2	. بي . الأبيض 14
رطل 6, 11, 15, 19, 31	يان . اسود 34
رطل كبر 8, 45	اصلحه الله 9, 16
رطاين 29 رطاين 29	اكرمه الله 47, 44,
, <u>, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , </u>	اللهم 57
الزيت 29	passim passim
	أمر الله بالوفأ 37, 37–94, 9
سدس ۱۵	6, 14-9, 22, 30, 37, 40, 42, 45, الأمير 47, 56
الديا	امير المؤمنين 4-3, 43
الصناب 35	اوفوا الكيل .12 etc
صنعه 4 صنعه 3-4, 6, 8-9, 11-4, 34-5, 37, 40,	3. 3 •
42, 57	بركة من الله 24
	بر که می ایک passim
عىس 2, 26	<i>pussin</i> 41 ,
على يدى ,5-11, 14-6, 18, 20, 22, 32, 34-5, على يدى ,39, 41-2, 45-9, 51	ئرمس I2, 25
عمله 49	الترمس 33
عنب 31	•
	3, 6, 8, 17, 20, 33, 40, 45, 49 ثلث
فلس 4, 51−23 الدا	
الفلس ۱	حلمان 13
الفول 26	خلنار 3, 54
قراریط ۲	
قسط 7, 9, 12, 22, 29, 32, ₅₇	حمص 14 ^{2–3}
القسط 25	حنا 13
قسطان 5	
قيرط 30	خروبة 4-23
الكتم 37 الكمون 34	الدوم 32 دينر 1,6, 20–1, 40, 42, 45, 47, 55
•	
6	3

ميزان ١	لم 29 م
ميزن 28	27 ط
0	3-4, 6, 8, 17, 20-1, 23-4, 33, 40, مثنال 42-3, 45, 47, 51, 55
4, 8, 12, 15, 19, 21, 25, 28, 33, 41, نصف 43, 57	محشوش 2
نفیس 25	المخسرين 12, 50
	المر 13
ولا تبخسوا المكيال 54	المرا 13
واف passim	مرد 13
وانية 32, 37	متشر 26, 54, 12–12
وزن 49, 23	الكيال 54
الوفا لله 5-54, 29, 26, 8–8	مكية 34, 25–6, 32–5, 37, 54
وقية 9, 44, 56 ,9–10, 18	ماً امر به 3, 12, 22, 31, 47–8, 56
وقية كبير 11, 44, 48, 51	مولی 44



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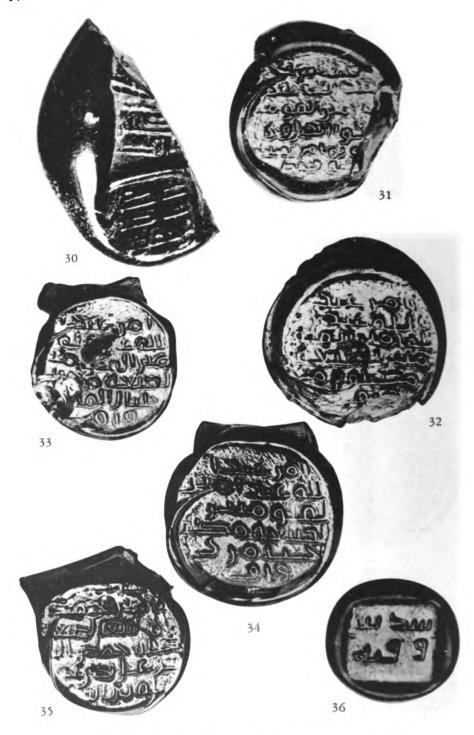


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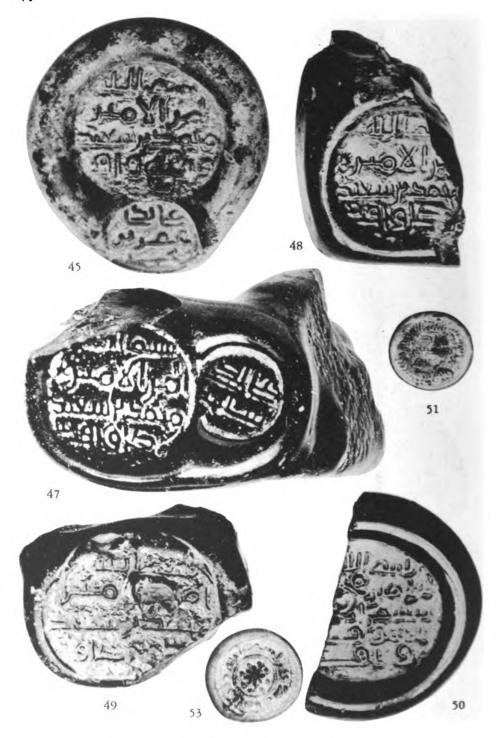


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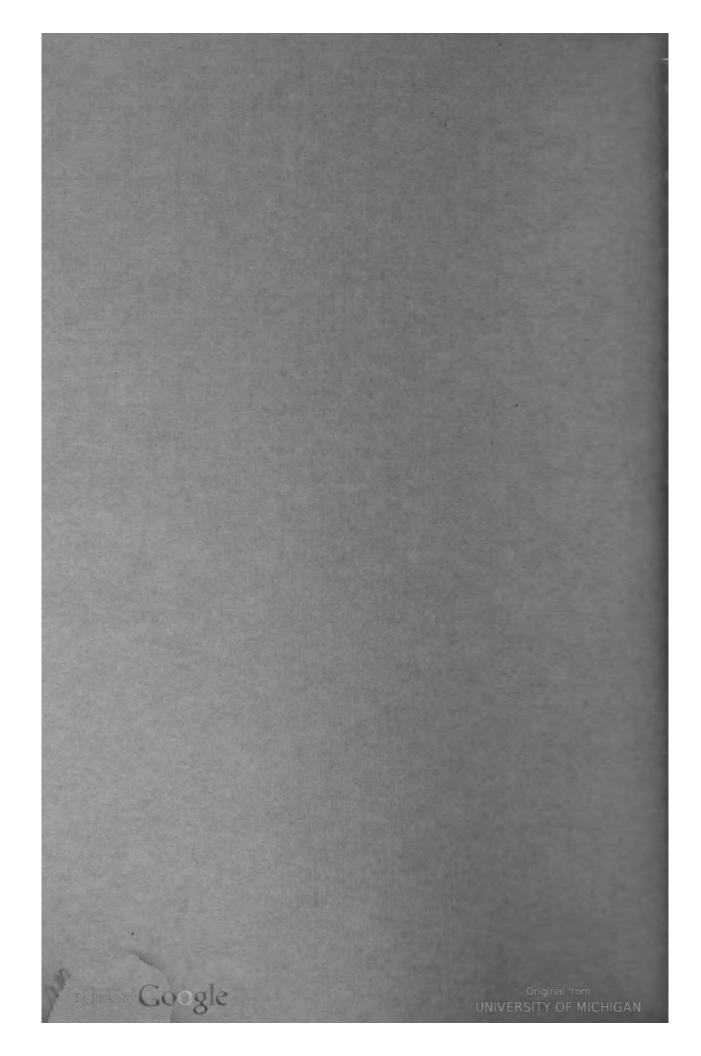
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